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College and School News

Seventeen-year-old Mildred Earle Harris of Chicago is winner of the South Center Department Store scholarship to the UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS. A graduate of the DuSable high school, Miss Harris stood forty-fifth in a class of two hundred. The South Center store has been active in community affairs and a feature of its work is the establishment of a year's scholarship to an accredited university to be awarded to the high school boy or girl working in the store during their junior and/or senior years.

Louia Vaughn Jones, head of the violin department at HOWARD UNIVERSITY, is the first Negro to play with a major symphony orchestra. He played first violin with the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington in August.

The seventh annual teachers institute on professionalization, sponsored by the WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE during its summer sessions, was held August 10 under the direction of Dr. Grace I. Woodson, professor of education at the college.

An Educational Program for Veterans of World War II is the title of a bulletin issued in August by the college. Under the subtitle "When Johnny Comes Marching Home and to West Virginia State College," the publication lists forty-one occupations for which the college is prepared to train returned soldiers who wish to take advantage of the GI-bill recently passed by Congress. The bulletin is illustrated.

Annual commencement exercises of the summer session were held August 18. The principal address was delivered by Bertram L. Woodruff of the English department.

Chairman of the board of trustees of FLORIDA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE announces the appointment of Dr. John Lee Tilley of Raleigh, N. C., as the sixth president of the school to succeed Dr. William H. Gray, Jr. Dr. Tilley did his undergraduate work at Shaw university and graduate work at the University of Chicago. He served as head of the theological school at Shaw for fifteen years and during 1930-32 was acting president of the university. He is the founder of the Shaw Minister's Institute and has pastored rural and urban churches in North Carolina.

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Twelve new members have been added to the SHAW UNIVERSITY faculty. They are George J. Davis, professor of mathematics; Charles H. Pugh, assistant professor of physics and general science; Miss Mildred N. Jordan, instructor in home economics; Miss Mildred A. Thornhill, instructor in music; Mrs. Velma E. Virgo, instructor in social sciences; Mrs. Vivian K. Cameron, assistant professor of social sciences; Miss V. Marguerite Russell, instructor in physical education; Miss Fannie J. McNair, dietitian; Mrs. Marcella Ford, part-time assistant in religious education and in the personnel department; Mrs. Harriett Smith, assistant matron; Miss Sadie Eaton, university nurse; and Mrs. Maude W. Winston, instructor in religious education and personnel assistant. This increased staff has been provided to take care of a capacity enrollment of approximately five hundred students.

Official announcement of the resignation of John L. Tilley to take the presidency of Florida N. and I. College was made by president Robert P. Daniel at a university banquet August 17.

P. B. Young, Sr., editor of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, delivered the main address at the seventy-ninth annual summer Shaw commencement August 18. Among the thirty-five persons who received degrees were many in-service teachers who earned their right to a candidacy by attending the university summer school for as many as eight summer sessions. The exercises concluded the activities of the summer school commencement events, which also included a university banquet held in honor of the graduating seniors.

Expected additions to the KNOXVILLE COLLEGE faculty this fall are William F. McKinney, business manager and athletic coach; Miss Althea Montgomery, instructor in English; David N. Howell, physical education and theory; and Rev. R. W. Stennett, part-time instructor in Bible and religious education.

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President Sherman D. Scruggs announces the appointment of Scovel Richardson as dean of the Lincoln school of law, succeeding William E. Taylor. Dean Richardson was educated at the University of Illinois and the Howard university law school. Prior to his association with the university he had practiced law in Chicago.

The university this fall offers complete programs in all areas with special attention given to the many courses designed to serve returning service men.

President Scruggs was participant in one of the panel discussions in August at the Fourth Mid-West Hazen conference at Francis Shirmer college, Mount Carroll, Illinois.

Dr. William H. Gray, former president of the Florida Normal and Industrial College, has been elected president of the FLORIDA A. AND M. COLLEGE to succeed the late Dr. J. R. E. Lee. Dr. Gray at thirty-two becomes the youngest land-grant college president in the country. He was educated at St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Bluefield State Teachers College, and the University of Pennsylvania. He also has a background of experience as college professor, demonstration-school principal, and college president.

Eight Negro officers were graduated from the MEDICAL FIELD SERVICE SCHOOL, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., in August.

Melvin B. Tolson, professor at WILEY COLLEGE, has issued a new volume of poems, *Rendezvous With America*, through Dodd, Mead and Company. His poems have previously appeared in the *Atlantic*, *Common Ground*, and elsewhere.

Following the Institute on Family Life Problems held at HAMPTON INSTITUTE recently, plans for an annual home-makers' conference have been made at the college. The Institute on Family Life and Problems was arranged by the staff and students of the home economics division of the college under the direction of Miss Grace Reeves, head of the division.

Five students of the newly-established division of nurse education at the institute received their caps at the college August 13. The newly-capped students are members of the junior class and completed two years of general college work before entering upon their basic professional training.

Miss Flemmie P. Kittrell, dean of women at the institute since 1940, was honored by the officers and ship's company of the U. S. Naval Training school in a dinner and dance. Miss Kittrell is a graduate of Hampton and

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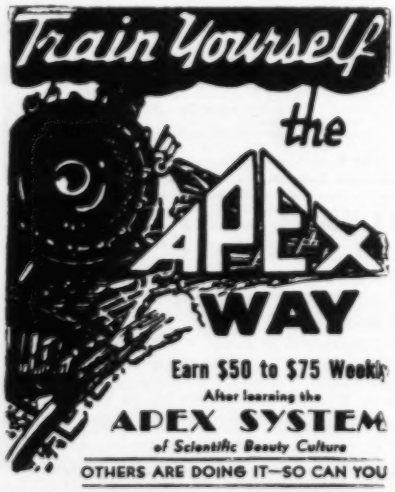

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holds both the master's and doctor's degree from Cornell university. She has accepted an appointment at Howard university, where she will be professor and head of the department of home economics.

The service flag at the college now shows 1,264 former students in the armed forces, Major Walter R. Brown, secretary of the college and dean of men, has announced. Ten gold stars on the flag indicate men who have died in the service.

L. F. Palmer, assistant director of extension at the college, has been appointed director of a new project in teacher education to be sponsored jointly by Hampton and the General Education Board. Planned to introduce a new procedure in teacher education, the project will include a program of classroom instruction and community development operating in connection with the revised state curricula now developing in several southern states. A graduate of Wilberforce University, Mr. Palmer holds the master of arts degree from Hampton and an honorary doctor of pedagogy from Virginia Union University.

Twentieth annual meeting of the Southern Coaches and Officials Association was held in Knoxville, Tenn., September 8-9. Headquarters for the meeting and business sessions was the Carnegie Library. The following Southern Conference institutions were represented at the meeting: Benedict college, Fisk university, LeMoyne college, Knoxville college, Morris Brown college, Clark college, South Carolina State, Florida A. & M., Lane college, Xavier university, Talladega college, State Teachers college, Tuskegee Institute, and Fort Valley State college.

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A Record of the Darker Races

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WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED WITH THIS COPY SEND IT TO A BOY IN CAMP

COVER

The Harry Wagstaff Gribble production of Philip Yordan's "Anna Lucasta," now playing at the Mansfield, was first produced in Harlem, June 16, 1944, by the American Negro Theatre (See page 321). Moved to Broadway, the play's twenty-four-year-old star won high critical praise for her acting ability. Miss Simms hails from Minnesota and has been a student of St. Margaret's Academy in Minneapolis and the University of Minnesota. She was at one time a teaching-fellow at Hampton Institute and holds a bachelor's degree from that school. She is the wife of Sgt. William Simms.

NEXT MONTH

Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu promises an article on his native Nigeria. Ernest E. Johnson writes a searching article entitled "A Voice at the Peace Table?" and Miss Pauli Murray, honor graduate of the Howard law school tells what Howard students did to work out a blueprint for first class citizenship as well as their method of fighting jim crowism in Washington. We shall also carry a sardonic short story, "At My Table," by Teresa O'Hiser.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Mercer Cook, son of the late Will Marion Cook, now on leave from Atlanta University, is supervisor of the English-Teaching Project in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. He is on the editorial board of *Phylon* and an authority on the Negro in French and Latin-American literature. Constance Curtis and Adele Glasgow are on the staff of the N. Y. *Amsterdam News*. Stetson Kennedy, author of *Palmetto Country* and the forthcoming *The Four Freedoms Down South*, lives in Miami, Florida. Grant Reynolds is administrative assistant in the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

Editorials

Race Equality in the Peace

FROM the Dumbarton Oaks conference in Washington has come the news that the Chinese government is proposing formally that a declaration on the equality of races and nations be included in the peace treaty.

The Chinese, who have been on the short end in the war with Japan, and who have been treated like step-children by the other United Nations, already have succeeded in having the United States repeal the Chinese exclusion act, thus putting China on the same quota basis as other nations. It is estimated that under the quota system, about 105 Chinese a year will be eligible to enter America. When this repeal was put through it was frankly acknowledged by all parties that it was in gratitude for China's magnificent fight against the Japanese, without which the United States would have been much farther behind in the war on Japan than she is at the moment.

But in proposing a racial equality clause in the peace treaty China is in for a stiff fight and past history indicates that she has little chance of winning her point. After Germany was defeated in 1918, Japan proposed a racial equality clause for the Versailles treaty. Some light on the negotiations at that time is given by Stephen Bonsal in his recent book, "Unfinished Business." Bonsal was official interpreter for President Wilson in Paris and his book is written from his notes on the formal and informal meetings of the dignitaries who finally shaped the peace. On the matter of the racial equality proposal by Japan, Bonsal says:

"Baron Makino (Japan) told the Colonel [House—Ed.] yesterday that he had been instructed by Tokyo to bring before the Commission a proposal to recognize race equality in the Covenant, preferable in the Preamble, and that he had been instructed to press for its adoption. House has done what he could to convince the baron that this course will prove anything but helpful to the purposes of his government. . . . Having failed in this the Colonel has drawn up several drafts which he hopes will satisfy the Japanese without making little Hughes of Australia put on his war paint. One of these, in a personal and off-the-record visit from Balfour, he submitted to him. The draft was rather reminiscent of our Declaration of Independence. 'All men are born free and equal . . . ' Balfour listened but said, 'I think this idea is outmoded. All men of one particular nation are born free and equal, but I am far from convinced that a man from Central Africa could be regarded as the equal of a European or an American.'"

House and Balfour agreed that the Japanese must have some room for expansion and they hit upon Brazil and put the matter up to President Wilson who "gave them no encouragement," saying. "We have all the race questions that we can manage now."

With Great Britain and America opposed to a race equality clause, Japan lost out. Some effort was made to pacify her with certain mandated islands in the Pacific, but it is probable that the blunt refusal of the "white" nations to consider race equality at Versailles motivated Japan's later withdrawal from the League of Nations and sparked her adventure in Manchuria and China and her war against the United States.

Comes now China with the same demand. It may be that China has a better chance for consideration than had Japan 25 years ago. China is necessary to victory in Asia. Without China we can lose the Pacific war, no matter how many thousands of square miles of ocean we cover, or how many islands we recover. If we again cold shoulder race equality as a principle we but prove the Japanese doctrine being preached to the hundreds of millions of Far Eastern people: there is no future for you in cooperating with the Western nations for they are committed to "white supremacy."

Russia may be expected to support the race equality proposal made at Dumbarton Oaks since she has a specific clause on racial equality in her constitution, but with America and Britain ranged in opposition, it remains to be seen whether the item will not be by-passed once more and whether the seeds of another more terrible war along racial lines will not be sown.

Clean Blocks—Good Citizens

ONE of the vexing angles in this race relations business was recognized more than a quarter century ago, namely the adjustment of Negro migrants, largely from an agricultural background, to life in urban centers. The great Negro populations of Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, New York, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, and other centers had to learn new ways of living, and they have been ably assisted through the years by the National Urban League.

However, other agencies were needed in the tremendous job and it remained for the Afro-American Newspapers to inaugurate a "Clean Block" campaign in the cities where their chain papers circulate. The results of this year's campaign in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington have been announced and prizes awarded for beauty and for the greatest improvement over last year. Pictures of these fine blocks demonstrate that Negro city residents do have pride in their homes and communities, and when stimulated and encouraged, can present as fine neighborhoods as any other citizens. The *Afro-American* is to be congratulated on this important public service.

Buy and *Hold* War Bonds

The best way to help America in the war, the best way to back up our boys on the battlefronts of the world is to buy War bonds. The best investment in Freedom and the future is War bonds. Not only buy them, but *hold* them.

Score for the Movies

IN its nation-wide hit film, "Going My Way" starring Bing Crosby, Paramount Pictures has done exactly what thoughtful Negroes have sought to get film producers to do: include Negroes naturally and easily in a script in parts which are not stereotyped. One of the members of the street gang rounded up by the new young priest in the neighborhood and made into a church choir is a Negro lad. He is no dialect-talking clown for the rest of the gang, but a member in good standing. He has one of the solo parts in a featured song, "Swinging on a Star."

Hats off to Director and Producer Leo McCarey, and to Paramount. May the other film companies go and do likewise.

National Bar Journal

IN its new dress and impressive contents, the *National Bar Journal,* official organ of the National Bar Association, becomes one of the important publications among American Negroes. The September issue contains a summary of civil liberties cases in the 1943 term of the United States Supreme court and an editorial by Sidney R. Redmond, editor-in-chief, urging greater participation by lawyers in civil liberties actions, as well as briefs *amicus curiae* in such cases by the National Bar Association itself. Even more so than in the past, our people will need expert legal services in meeting their problems. The *National Bar Journal* is well on the way to rallying our lawyers to their duty.

Race in Politics

DESPITE the denial of Chairman Brownell of the GOP national committee, the studied campaign against Sidney Hillman and the PAC has the distinct flavor of racial and religious prejudice, which both major parties agreed to bar from the presidential campaign. To keep emphasizing that a man is from Lithuania, from New York, and is head of a union of clothing workers is not subtle. It says (without using the words) that he is a Jew, a "foreigner," and tells gullible American voters that such a one has no right to be active in politics. If this is Americanism then Hitler is George Washington.

Labor, the Negro, and 1944

By R. J. Thomas

An outline of PAC's position on the Negro and Labor in the presidential election

THE growing political consciousness of Negroes and the crystallization of their group determination to obtain for themselves their just share of all that democratic life in America has to offer, has been noticeable now for some time. This is a hopeful sign; it parallels the political consciousness of organized labor.

Organized labor and the Negro began their political march of progress at about the same time. We started with the election of President Roosevelt in 1932 and we have marched forward side by side ever since. We watched eagerly as the employment windows opened and the bread and soup lines disappeared.

Congress, under the President's inspired leadership, enacted legislation which materially advanced the status of the common man. The Wagner Act guaranteed to us the opportunity to form unions of our own choosing. The Wage and Hour Law protected our unorganized brothers by placing a floor under wages and a ceiling on hours. The Social Security Act, Public Housing Act, Bank Insurance Law and other progressive legislation contributed to making our life more secure.

We got these benefits because labor and the Negro worked and fought shoulder to shoulder against all the shenanigans of reactionary management who, through the agency of the Republican party and the poll tax congressmen, have been trying to take over the leadership of this country. We have organized together, marched in picket lines together, and, hand in hand, have built the greatest labor movement America has ever seen. We have done this simply by recognizing the common interests of all working men, irrespective of race or color.

We must continue to do this. To enable us to do our job on the political front more effectively, the Congress of Industrial Organizations organized the Political Action Committee headed by Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This committee is not a new or third party. It is a non-partisan organization, neither Republican nor Democratic. Its primary aim is to influence our national political scene by making the rank and file of workers more conscious of what democratic life in America can be like for those who take the time to be politically active. It seeks to make of each worker a politician—a politician in the sense that he will use his combined individual and group power to influence those who control his economic and political well-being.

PAC accomplishes this by first outlining to the workers the stakes for which they must play in the political game. You want to usher in the "Century of the Common Man"? You want post-war security; more and better housing; an end to the fear of periodic unemployment; an end to labor-baiting and race-hating? PAC says to its constituents, we can bring about all of this if you will register and vote. Do you want a change in the philosophy of government officials? Do you want men who are more conscious of the rights of the human beings and less mindful of guaranteeing exorbitant profits? PAC says study the records of the candidates for public office and support only those whose past conduct give reasonable assurance that their thinking on the function of government is in accord with your own.

R. J. Thomas is president of the United Auto Workers, CIO, secretary of the Political Action Committee (PAC), and a member of the NAACP board of directors.

PAC's Role

Notwithstanding PAC is not a political party, it, nevertheless, has its "platform"—its list of what constitute the political aims of its supporters. And high up on that list in terms of importance is the requirement that government and those who constitute government shall function in the interest of all people in our democracy—irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin.

Recently Negro labor leaders from all over America met in Chicago to outline the political aspirations of Negro citizens in this fateful year of 1944, and to determine the most appropriate means by which colored workers, as an integral part of the American labor movement, can realize these aspirations. All segments of the labor movement were represented at this conference. It is no accident that the program upon which these workers unanimously agreed is almost identical with the program of PAC. Rather, it merely is a reflection of what government and those who aspire to govern must become more and more conscious of in the coming months; namely, whatever is planned for the benefit of American workers must enure to the benefit of all workers alike; and whatever harms the Negro voter, also harms all other workers.

Labor generally has cause to be concerned about the future. But the Negro has even more cause for alarm. We like to believe that racial illwill is on the decline, but even the least observant among us know that is not true. The low state of the debate occasioned recently by the President's requests for funds to finance his Committee on Fair Employment Practice for another year; the activities of fascist-minded individuals who precipitated the Philadelphia transit strike; the bitter race-baiting that characterized the primary fights in the south; and the refusal of certain of our southern states to accept the Supreme Court's ruling on the illegality of the so-called "lily-white primaries," all bear testimony to the fact that the "Century of the Common Man" is a long way off.

These factors accentuate the so-called Negro issues which all of our incoming national officials will have to face sooner or later.

We know, for example, the way in which our Negro brothers have been denied fair employment and upgrading opportunities in the north as well as in the south. And we know, too, that the present FEPC has been able to do precious little about this.

We know that the patriotic services of our colored citizens, freely offered, have been either refused outright or accepted on a segregated basis by certain branches of our

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Which Candidate in November

A. Retain the President

By William L. Dawson

This argument stresses the great advances the Negro has made under the Roosevelt administration as the basis in asking for colored votes for the Democrats

IN a few weeks millions of Americans of all stations, colors and creeds will determine whether the liberal spirit shall live as a vital force in American affairs, whether a government dedicated to the cause of the common man shall survive, and whether human values shall be cherished above all others in our national life.

Few national elections in our history have presented, it seems to me, more basic issues than the 1944 election. The old story that there is no fundamental difference between the major parties in America nor between the candidates of the two parties does not hold today. The gulf between the Democratic and Republican philosophies of government has never been wider, nor has the difference between the presidential candidates of the major parties ever been greater.

It is no accident that every liberal and progressive group in our population is aggressively working in behalf of a Democratic victory, and every reactionary and defeatist group in America is desperately campaigning for a Republican victory. Those who today oppose the re-election of President Roosevelt are the identical hate-mongers who have fought the advancement of the Negro people and have fought the rise of organized labor and every other liberal development for the last twelve years. I repeat, this is no accident.

By sabotaging the Fair Employment Practice bills for New York State, by championing the vicious doctrine of "states rights" by refusing to use his influence to help pass the antipoll tax bill, the calculating Republican candidate for the presidency has demonstrated as governor of New York that he is not concerned with the fate of the "common man." The Republican hierarchy which represents organized greed in American life has not changed and though their liberal words pile up like a mountain, their liberal deeds would not make a mole hill.

Unemployment Remembered

As an American citizen, I cannot forget the plight of my country in 1932 when the people in the cities, in the villages, and on the farms of our great land found themselves wondering for the first time in their lives whether democracy could survive the economic chaos which hung like a black cloud above the heads of millions, white and black alike. I cannot forget the distress of men, women and children who felt trapped by forces over which they had no control. Neither can I forget the futile answers given to those millions by the Republican party.

Congressman William L. Dawson, Democrat from the First District of Illinois, elected to the Seventy-eighth Congress November 3, 1942, was recently appointed assistant to Robert Hannegan, Democratic National Chairman.

With the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, America saw the dawn of a new era and the emergence of a new faith in democratic government. The President with boldness and confidence made it clear that his administration would place the welfare of the people—all the people—above everything else. With swift progressive steps the President laid the foundation for economic stability and gave the common man a chance to work, to eat and to live.

Under the Roosevelt administration, 111,000 public housing units costing over a half billion dollars have been made available to Negro citizens. Over $54,000,000 were paid to Negro construction workers and some 2,500 Negroes are now employed in managing and maintaining housing projects.

Through loans and grants public works and educational facilities costing over $38,803,018 have been provided for Negroes by the administration. Seventy-two school buildings, eighty recreation centers, six hospitals and four nurses' homes have been built.

The Roosevelt administration has aided 681,790 Negro farmers who will produce this year according to official estimates, a half million head of cattle, thirty-five million chickens and a hundred million dozen eggs. Over 500 new colored workers have been placed in the field services of the Department of Agriculture to assist colored farmers.

Training received by Negroes through the National Youth Administration and war training programs have enabled Negroes to qualify for important jobs today.

Negro Shared

My people have not only shared in the broad programs of social and economic reform created by the Roosevelt administration, but they have had, in the persons of the President and his gifted and gracious wife, two champions of the great democratic principle of equality of opportunity. From the Roosevelt administration we have gained far more than the benefits from the vast programs of the New Deal, the Public Works Administration, the National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Farm Security Administration, Home Owners Loan, Federal Housing, Social Security, etc. Besides the millions of dollars worth of benefits that have accrued to us in terms of great housing projects, broad training opportunities, new jobs and new economic safeguards, the Roosevelt administration has given strength and courage to the liberals of America in their struggle to make democracy work. The powerful liberal forces, new industrial unions, new civic and social movements that have arisen under the progressive Roosevelt administration represent the best hope that we have for the ultimate solution of the problem of color in our country.

Roosevelt appointees to the United States Supreme Court share his faith in democracy. The Supreme Court decision in the Lloyd Gaines case has forced the southern states to broaden the educational opportunities for

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—Roosevelt or Governor Dewey?

B. Elect Dewey

By C. B. Powell

Here is the familiar argument that the South bosses the Democratic Party made by an official spokesman for the GOP in asking votes from colored people

THERE are many important issues in the 1944 presidential campaign, but from the point of view of the 3,000,000 Negro voters, the one question uppermost in their minds is whose election will contribute most to the full integration of Negro citizens into American life.

Since it is reasonably certain that the peace will be written during the next four years, and that the pattern it sets will last for years to come, it is highly important that the status of the Negro shall not be fixed on a level that will keep him in a position of a second-class citizen throughout the long peace period that is now being fashioned.

Four more years of Roosevelt will mean four more years of control of the government by the Solid South, with its unalterable and vicious "master-race" philosophy. This, unquestionably, would throttle the hopes and aspirations of Negroes, and bind tighter about them the noose of racial prejudice, segregation and discrimination.

The test of the citizenship status of a group in the American democratic state, is not determined by a distribution of government-made jobs or dole, but by the manner in which that group is recognized in the management of the affairs of the government itself. The history of the Democratic party in this connection; its policy of not admitting Negroes into the high councils of the party, is notorious.

This practice is well exemplified by the sharp contrast between the records of Thomas E. Dewey as Governor of New York, and that of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the same position.

Dewey's Record

Governor Dewey is serving his second year as chief executive of New York. Mr. Roosevelt was serving the second year of his second term as governor at the time he was elected president. But the records of the two men with respect to the recognition of Negroes by appointments to positions of importance and responsibility differ greatly.

Mr. Roosevelt, as governor, appointed not a single Negro to a policy-making position. Governor Dewey, on the other hand, has shattered precedent after precedent in the appointment of Negroes.

Among the major appointments Governor Dewey has made are these:

Dr. C. B. Powell, editor of the N. Y. "Amsterdam News" and member of the N. Y. State Athletic Commission, is assistant director of publicity of the National Republican Campaign Committee.

Member, State Athletic Commission.

Justice, City Court, New York County, $17,500 a year.

Secretary, State Department of Labor, $5,000 a year.

Member, Industrial Commission, $8,500 a year.

Referee, Workmen's Compensation, and

Four assistant attorney generals.

Mr. Dewey's policy of choosing associates and appointing assistants on a basis of qualification rather than on account of race, creed, color or national origin, has marked his entire public career. Under his administration the Negro has truly been integrated into the management of the affairs of the state, and Governor Dewey's action in this connection can be measured as an index of what he would do as president of the United States.

In the White House, Mr. Roosevelt has pursued his policy, in line with the tradition of the Democratic party, of not including Negroes in the inner circles of the party's leadership. Regardless of the pretty speeches, and glorious phrases, until the Negro is considered in the formation of basic policies, he is not, in fact, a full citizen. For he is not represented among those who steer the ship of state, and verily, remains in the unsatisfactory position of a group that pays taxation without having representation.

Campaign Issue

The issue in this campaign for Negroes is fundamental. And for them it must not be allowed to turn on the conclusion that "Roosevelt has done more for the little man than any other president."

During the depression and since war began, the Negro has shared in what the country has had to offer, but insofar as the actual status of the Negro is concerned, he has not advanced one step.

Each of the parties has followed a precise pattern over the years. Just a casual glance at American political history will reveal that it has always been the policy of the Republican party to integrate the Negro; that of the Democratic party to isolate him.

There is nothing in the career of Mr. Roosevelt, either as assistant secretary of the Navy, as governor of New York, or as president of the United States to indicate the future for the Negro under his leadership will be any more promising.

An example of what can be expected in the future may be estimated by the attitude of President Roosevelt and the Democratic party toward Negro men and women in the armed forces, toward the establishment of a permanent FEPC, and toward the extension of full civil and political rights to Negroes.

President Mute

The President has been mute while Negroes have been mercilessly discriminated against, abused by their superiors in the services, and beaten and murdered by civilians, without any official rebuke from the White House. As commander-in-chief, Mr. Roosevelt is responsible for the morale in the armed services, but he has stood idly by while the morale of

(Continued on page 332)

What the Negro Soldier Thinks About the War Department

By Grant Reynolds

This is the second article in the series on "What the Negro Soldier Thinks . . .," the first having appeared in our September issue. Consensus of Negro soldier opinion on the War Department is that they have been sold a "rotten bill of goods"

THE War Department has sold the Negro soldier a rotten bill of goods. The Negro soldier not only resents its putrid odor but equally resents being made the victim of what many soldiers consider a foul and debasing trick. This great war brain should have as its primary objective the winning of this costly war as soon as possible and with the least possible loss of life. In pursuit of this objective the War Department should declare traitor every human being who by direction or indirection prolongs this war a single day. I further suggest that such treason be dealt with by the firing squad. But if the tree itself is rotten it can hardly be expected to bear good fruit. The Negro soldier thinks the War Department itself is prolonging this war and he is convinced by multitudinous evidence that he is right.

In the first instance he observes his daily treatment which is both lamentable on the one hand and unsupported by decency on the other. Having a record of loyalty and devotion to the nation that is unequaled as well as unquestioned, he sees the War Department destroy his love for his country by making him a military "untouchable." All other American citizens, irrespective of racial origin, serve in American units—all except the Negro. He serves in a jim crow unit, separated from other Americans, giving stark evidence each day of the War Department's unqualified disrespect for his status as an American citizen. In this sorry situation the Negro soldier has witnessed the most foolish and tragic game ever played by a so-called enlightened people. In this game of homo sapiens' folly multitudes of human beings lose their lives each day. This is especially true as Allied forces now approach the German border. The game, as you might have guessed, is war. The goal, as far as we are concerned, is civilization itself. Yet each day the War Department by its stupid refusal to recognize ability and merit, when these qualities are not inclosed in a white skin, flirts dangerously with doom as it renders ten percent of its soldiers incapable of doing their best. Civilization therefore becomes secondary to the preservation of the very corruption which will eventually destroy it.

The Constitution and its accompanying Bill of Rights have been literally torn up and the bits insultingly thrown into the Negro soldier's face. Yet these sons of American mothers are expected to die and are dying in the face of such indignity. It is a widely known fact that Nazi prisoners of war receive better treatment in this country than do hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers. Stripped of his constitutional rights, bereft of any particular concern for his welfare, denied the right to die honorably in his country's crusade, subjected each day to conditions which contradict every claim of democratic principle, the Negro soldier has been betrayed by the very agency which controls his destiny—the War Department. As it prepares him for death on the foreign battlefields of the world, and actually sends him to his death, it winks at conditions which torture him physically and which mob and lynch his spirit. Under these conditions the War Department sends the sons of American mothers into battle ill-prepared indeed. It is small wonder that among many Negro soldiers, there is the feeling that the War Department itself is helping to destroy their lives.

"Chaplain, how can we get a decent break in this war when our bitterest enemies are running the show?" Such was the question put to me by a group of Negro soldiers who followed me to my office one Sunday morning after my sermon.

"What do you mean by such a statement?" I asked.

"Well, just take a look at the military big shots. Practically every one of them comes from the south. In fact the Army and Navy are lousy with southerners and their leaders give us reason to believe that they would rather lose this war than see us have equality. And judging from the way these cracker

Judge Hastie took position as civilian aide to the Secretary of War October, 1940. When he found his efforts to diminish Army segregation and discrimination growing more and more ineffectual, he resigned his position January 31, 1943. Judge Hastie is shown with Under Secretary of War Patterson.

officers treat us, they're not fooling either. Now, sir, can you say that these people are not our enemies?"

I found words difficult as I stuttered and sputtered in an effort to provide the right answer. Before I could do so another soldier opened up with still another broadside. Declared he: "The War Department is running a plantation as far as Negroes are concerned. Just look at this post. The commanding officer by his disregard for us soldiers is an excellent example of a plantation boss. And don't forget, he's a "red-neck" from Tennessee. That's bad enough, but anyone who is not blind will immediately recognize how subordinate every Negro must be in order to stay here. It makes me sick!"

"Listen, fellows," I said, "don't let such things get you down. And if I were you I would be more careful about expressing such thoughts."

Immediately one of them spoke up: "Chaplain, you haven't turned 'long-coat,' have you?"

There was a dreadful silence as each man glued his eyes upon my face. "Now, what do you think?" I replied. After a pause the expressions of wounded suspicion left their faces. I, too, felt relieved.

"Run along now, fellows, it's near chow time and I've got some work to do. I'll expect you at the evening service."

The work I had to do was not nearly so important as my desire to be alone with my thoughts. Here was a group of ordinary American Negro soldiers, intelligent but not a college graduate in the group. Yet each man gave unmistakable evidence that he knew the score. I knew how one such man in a barracks was enough to evangelize all others even if they had not given serious thought to such matters. As I sat and gave thought to their statements I became disturbed. I knew they were right and they knew it too. Another disturbing factor was how narrowly I had escaped losing status by merely suggesting a contrary point of view or even demonstrating displeasure with such conversation.

Army Plantations

The statement charging the War Department with running a plantation returned to my mind. I began to make mental notes about the Negro's treatment on that particular post. I thought about how rigidly the doctrine of white supremacy was upheld there, making itself manifest in the jim crow school system and in the post commander's refusal to place a white officer in any position where he might be subordinate to a Negro officer. In fact a bulletin was published on one occasion by this post commander declaring that a white officer in the grade of 1st Lt. would be superior to a colored officer in the same department who had the rank of captain. The white officers on the post who were numerically inferior to Negro officers, could find comfort from the Arizona heat by cavorting in a beautiful swimming pool. Moreover, their families, as well as the poor white civilian trash that worked on the post, could enjoy this luxury. But Negroes, regardless of their educational background or their outstanding achievements in the professions, could do no more than pass by and see the white folks enjoy themselves. These were but a few among the many features of the operation of this post which gave credence to the soldier's claim.

One more illustration, however, will suffice. One of the bulwarks of the plantation system was the belief that Negroes were a happy and simple group of children. These light-hearted people therefore were deserving of special understanding as well as special treatment. They must be given adequate opportunity to dance and sing and, of course, to indulge occasionally in an overdose of religion. Any outburst among them, regardless of its nature, was attributed to the emotional instability of the group and was therefore classified as hoodlumism. On one occasion I had made myself *persona non grata* with the commanding officer of this post when I refused to accept this explanation as the reason for the stoning by colored soldiers of an automobile carrying high military officials. He had just made a speech to an assemblage of the post chaplains, directing that we use extreme care in listening to soldiers who complained about having been abused by their officers. I told the officer about the case of Pvt. Tommie Thompson, who died before he could learn to shoot a gun, because I had been unable to convince his white company commander at another post that the man was sick. Tommie, supported by two soldiers, was sent to my office because he was thought to be "goldbricking." After a brief talk with him I was convinced that he was a sick man in spite of the fact that he had just been discharged from the hospital. I therefore called the company commander by telephone and recommended that the soldier be sent back to the hospital at once. But, following the prevailing attitude too frequently found among white officers that all Negro soldiers are lazy, this company commander sent Tommie away that night on a troop convoy. When the train, carrying him to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, reached its destination Tommie Thompson was dead. I tried to describe how this experience had seared itself upon my consciousness and how I had promised my Creator that in the future I would listen to every story a man had to tell me. And what was more, if upon investigation the story was found to be true, I intended to press for punishment of the officer concerned.

Signal Corps from Acme

Visiting wounded soldiers in a general hospital somewhere in England, Queen Elizabeth pauses to talk with Lt. James G. Bowman, who was wounded while his engineer general service regiment was on duty near Valognes, France.

Soldier Resentment

Vainly I attempted to reveal how resentful Negro soldiers were about their treatment and to point out the danger of misleading himself by contributing all acts of violence to hoodlumism. I further suggested that as long as the cause of such unrest prevailed, it constituted a daily threat to those guilty of its perpetration. I was promptly admonished with the kind of tongue lashing a Tennessee cracker can so adeptly dispense. In

other words, I was wrong, and what was more, my attitude was detrimental to the best functioning of that post. Not long afterwards, however, a white officer was taken to the hospital beaten almost to jelly. Some "hoodlums", who grew tired of his abuse, crept into his tent one night with the avowed intention of murdering him. They almost did, although 'tis said they got into this man's tent by mistake. The object of their wrath, according to the grapevine, was their company commander.

The Negro soldier charges that the War Department destroys his morale each day as it maintains southern white officers in control of his destiny, many of whom admittedly declare that the Negro soldier has no place in the Army at all. Apart from thus insulting him, many of these Negroes now find themselves embarrassed by intra-racial conflict incited by such officers. In this respect southern Negroes, many of whom accept silently jim crow conditions in the Army similar to those they have known in civilian life, are given preferential treatment over northern Negroes who resent this treatment and speak out against it, and this preference with no regard for other qualifications, such as educational background and technical training. White soldiers from the North will testify that they, too, have suffered from this despicable policy.

Negro Officers Shamed

Under such officers the Negro has seen officers of his own color held up to shame and ridicule and in many instances unjustifiably persecuted. He has seen the positions of command in the various companies of his regiment so shuffled about that Negro officers were not only denied positions commensurate with their training and ability but were handicapped by lack of opportunity for promotion to the next higher grade. In this respect Negro soldiers read with great interest the following statement made by the Archbishop of York as he spoke to the students of Union Theological Seminary: "There is nothing more disheartening for a man than to find no one wants to use his talents. It breaks him in spirit and engenders bitterness in him."

Historians of the future when writing the history of this war will undoubtedly include the great sociological changes which took place. Much of these phenomena will be the result of direct War Department initiation. In this respect it will be seen how the entire educational system of the United States has been revolutionized to meet the immediate military needs. Further, the War Department has not only built and manned numerous technical schools but has instituted courses in now-existing schools taught by its officers and instructors in which the course of study has been accelerated to an extent hitherto unknown. This has resulted in the development of new skills for thousands of men which points to an incalculable influence on post-war employment. Vast population changes will have resulted not only from the deployment of soldiers into many sections of the nation hitherto unfamiliar to them, but from the creation of the incentive whereby thousands of women and children have followed these men. Scores of such families will never return to their native communities and will thus influence by virtue of their regional culture whatever area they settle.

Millions of American soldiers will have been trained in the geography, customs and psychology of vast numbers of peoples of whom they previously had no knowledge. They have been taught to respect methods of activity which in comparison to their own cultural background seemed altogether strange or even ludicrous. The provincialism of untold millions will have been changed because of the vast geographical nature of the military undertaking. And also the very nature of war itself induces within men a restlessness and dissatisfaction which leads to serious changes in their modes of behavior and which in themselves make serious inroads into previously existing community patterns.

Thus when War Department spokesmen plead their inability to change contemporary practices in such instances as the creation of a mixed division, the very facts themselves deny the validity of their claims. When they state that the War Department is not "running a sociological laboratory" the Negro takes such an excuse for the continuation of military segregation as so much poppycock. And if War Department officials are stupid enough to make such an excuse for their un-American behavior, the Negro soldier is not stupid enough to believe them.

Military Courts

One of the pillars of democratic government is the fair administration of courts of justice. Without fair judicial procedure the democratic principle of equality before the law becomes a farce. Too often military justice as it has affected the Negro in this war has shown the same color prejudice which characterizes the behavior of the degenerate group of American demagogues who have been bred south of the Mason-Dixon Line. The Negro soldier is no more of a saint or a sinner than the white soldier. Members of both groups will at times behave in a manner which is condemned by military regulations, thereby creating the necessity for trial and punishment. This is an accepted characteristic of any community organization and administration. In all fairness it must be said that these military courts are usually found to be of greater efficiency and dispatch than corresponding civilian courts. Personally, all things being equal, I should prefer trial by military court if I were innocent and trial by civilian court if I were guilty. However, the treatment accorded too many Negroes in this respect holds up to mockery and shame the ideal of judicial behavior. Too often these courts, which correspond somewhat to civilian juries, are compromised of prejudiced officers with preconceived notions of the guilt of Negro defendants, which outweigh any testimony to the contrary. The Negro soldier considers such maladministration of justice a direct

(*Continued on page 328*)

You may not read anything about this in the papers, but from authoritative private sources, be assured that the latest issue of a magazine called *The Crisis* has hit official Washington with considerable bang. *The Crisis* is a monthly . . . written, edited and published by Negroes.

The provocative article which has got Administration circles by the ears is one written by a Negro chaplain in the U.S. Army. The article is called "What the Negro Soldier Thinks About This War." The author claims to speak from extensive first-hand work among Negro troops, and to have suffered personally some rather nasty experiences of race prejudice among brass hats. For one thing, says the author, he was quartered in barracks with Negro troops, in violation of Army rules, but afterward was assigned to private quarters, especially built for him. Says the writer, "I made my usual mistake. Instead of saying 'Thank you white folks for being so kind and generous,' I remarked that this was a waste of taxpayers' money. For that I was immediately labelled . . . as a base ingrate."

The author believes his own experience is merely one symptom of a policy which prevails all the way up to the top of the War Department. He accuses Secretary Stimson of keeping Negroes out of the front line fighting . . . instead . . . assigning them to labor units.

The result, according to the author is a widespread feeling among the Negro soldiers that this is a white man's war for the purpose of keeping the dark races in subjection. He, personally, does not feel that way. He denounces Jap atrocities in China, but he says that under a war policy of racial discrimination you can hardly expect Negro troops to fight with the do-or-die zeal of Japs and Germans, who, he says, at least know what they are fighting for. Many Negroes, he thinks, do understand the objectives of the Allies, but many others are confused, and their morale might make a difference between victory and defeat. Needless to say, Washington officials are giving careful study to this criticism and sifting the complaints right down to cases.

—From script of Arthur Hale broadcast on *"Confidentially Yours,"* Station WOR on the Mutual Network, Saturday, Sept. 16, 1944.

The Right To Vote*

By Stetson Kennedy

In light of the coming November elections, a timely article tracing the history of American suffrage

CONTRARY to popular belief, the right to vote is not considered by American jurisprudence to be an inherent, natural, or inalienable right such as the rights to life, liberty, property, enterprise, privacy, conscience, pursuit of happiness, etc. Rather, it is regarded as a privilege bestowed upon the individual by democratic forms of government. It is interesting to note, however, that Benjamin Franklin not only regarded the right to vote as being inherent in American citizenship, but also considered it to be one of the natural rights of man.

To the lay mind it would certainly seem that if liberty is a natural right of man, then the right to vote must be also; for without a vote no man is a free member of society.

And yet the Constitution does not grant the right to vote to all American citizens. Except for the 15th and 19th Amendments prohibiting any state from denying anyone the vote because of race or sex, the Constitution leaves the states with complete authority to determine who shall vote in *state* elections, provided they maintain a republican form of government. Thus the states do have a legal right to condition the right to vote in state elections by means of poll tax, property, residence, literary, or any other requirements they see fit to impose.

With regard to who shall vote for *Federal* officials, however, the Constitution does have something to say. Section 2 of Article I provides that "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states and the electors in such states shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature."

This obviously constitutes a definition and establishment of a federal right in terms of a state law; yet polltaxers try to interpret it to the contrary. "It is true that certain Constitutional Amendments have been adoped which might throw restriction on the right of the state to prescribe qualifications for suffrage, which Constitutional Amendments we of the South claim were illegally adopted," Governor Jefferies, of South Carolina once said. "But it is still true that the qualifications for suffrage is under Constitutional government in America a matter for the individual states."

Senator Claude Pepper told the truth about this matter when he said in the Senate, "That was not a power conferred upon the states without limitation. The Federal Government simply adopted as its own the provisions to be made by the various state governments. . . . When a state prescribed the qualifications of an elector it was doing it as an instrumentality of the Federal Government. . . . That did not mean that the Federal Constitution left the Federal Congress powerless to prevent any abuses of that delegation of authority which the states might commit."

State Power Limited

It is easy to see that if the state had absolute and exclusive power to prescribe qualifications for voters in Federal elections, there would be nothing to prevent the Solid South from limiting the vote to Democrats only, or some other region from confining the vote to Republicans, or to Baptists or Catholics; Masschusetts might even reenact its statute of 1631-64 prescribing that "For time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same." By the same token, states might restrict the federal vote to the landed gentry, or to those with an annual income of more than $10,000. Some states do deny the state vote to the occupants of their poor houses; and there have been many shameless proposals for the disfranchisement of all recipients of government relief work.

In a society such as ours—which has always proven incapable of providing freedom from want (i.e. freedom from unemployment) to some eight million of its citizens even in "normal" times—the inability to pay a poll tax is certainly no proof of a lack of civic worth.

Senator Pepper summed up the relative powers of the state and Federal governments when he said, "The Federal Government is not to prescribe qualifications, neither are the states to impose burdensome conditions." To ten million Southerners, however, the poll-tax is prohibitive rather than merely burdensome. Here is further proof of the judicial holding that the power to tax constitutes the power to destroy. The Supreme Court has frequently ruled that the states do not have the power to tax a Federal function (*McCulloch* v. *Maryland*), and if a case involving the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting for *Federal official only* were brought before it, would doubtless rule the tax in such case un-Constitutional. This probability has unfortunately been exploited by opponents of the anti-poll-tax bill.

"If the poll tax be un-Constitutional, all in the world that you have to do to overthrow it is to bring a proper case in the courts," asserted Senator O'Mahoney at the 1942 poll-tax hearings.

"But where Congress can act and has the power to act . . . then the Congress can and, as I say, should pass such legislation," replied Benjamin Algase, representing the Lawyers' Guild. "They are not at all mutually exclusive."

"Congress has the duty to protect the enjoyment of Federal rights," added Senator Pepper.

"My position is this," said Senator Murdock, "that although some individual would have a perfect right to come into court to protect his Constiutional right, if Congress sees that there is an impingement on a Constitutional right that is affecting millions of people, then is it not the duty of Congress to do something affirmative by way of statutory implementing of the Constitution?"

The intent of the framers of the Constitution in adopting Section 2 of Article I was expressed in unmistakable terms by Alexander Hamilton:

> It will not be alleged that an election law could have been framed and inserted in the Constitution which would have been always applicable to every probable change in the situation of the country; and it will, therefore, not be denied that a discretionary power over election ought to exist somewhere. It will, I presume, be as readily conceded that there are only three ways in which this power could have been reasonably modified and disposed: that it must either have been lodged wholly in the national legislature, or wholly in the state legislatures, or primarily in the latter and ultimately in the former.
>
> The last mode has, with reason, been preferred by the Convention. They have permitted the regulation of elections for the Federal Government, in the first instance, to the local administration, which in ordinary cases, and when no improper views prevail, may be both more convenient and more satisfactory; and they have reserved to the national authority a right to interpose, whenever extraordinary circumstances might render that inter-

* A chapter from the author's book: *The Four Freedoms Down South.*

position necessary. . . . Nothing can be more evident than that exclusive power of regulating elections for the National Government, in the hands of the state legislatures, would leave the existence of the Union entirely at their mercy.

Plutocratic Opposition

Substantiating Hamilton's statement were the arguments pro and con the provision. The plutocratic opposition—which is seldom mistaken as to where its own interests lie—was represented by John Dickinson, who warned against "the dangerous influence of those multitudes without property and without principle with which our country, like all others, will in time abound." In like vein, Gouverneur Morris declared, "The time is not distant when this country will abound with mechanics and manufacturers [by which he means industrial workers] . . . Will such men be the secure and faithful guardians of liberty?" Morris thought not, just as the polltaxers of today think not; for it is precisely the industrial and agricultural workers whom the poll tax disfranchises. But of course the polltaxers' real concern is not with true liberty, but rather their own liberty to exploit.

Fortunately for Americans, the views of Dickinson, Morris, and others of the same ilk did not prevail upon the Constitutional Convention. "Who are to be the electors of the Federal representatives?" asked Madison in *The Federalist*. "Not the rich, more than the poor; not the learned, more than the ignorant; not the haughty heirs of distinguished names, more than the humble sons of obscurity and unpropitious fortune. The electors are to be the great body of the people of the United States."

Again, with reference to Franklin's views, Madison wrote, "He did not think that the elected had any right, in any case, to narrow the privileges of the electors." Yet for half a century now the elected officials of eight southern states have narrowed the privileges of the electors by means of the poll tax; and it remains for Congress and/or the courts to restore the federal franchise to the people.

The self-evident fact that the right to vote for federal officials stems from the Constitution, and is therefore subject to Congressional control, has been repeatedly pointed out by the Supreme Court: "The right to vote for Members of Congress is not derived from the constitution and laws of the state in which they are chosen, but has its foundation in the Federal Constitution" (*Minor* v. *Happersett*) "and was not intended to be left within the exclusive control of the states" (Yarbrough), and "Congress, by appropriate action, may protect such right" (*United States* v. *Moseley*).

Considerable misapprehension was created, however, when in 1937 the Court decided the *Breedlove case*. In this case a citizen of Georgia had been denied the opportunity to vote for both state and federal officials, because he had not paid his poll tax; and the Court upheld the right of the Georgia officials to deny the vote to anyone wishing to participate in a state election without having met all the state's requirements. Polltaxers—and even some opponents of the tax—generally misinterpreted this decision as giving the states full authority to prescribe qualifications for electors in both state and federal elections.

Classic Case

The Supreme Court itself hastened to correct this misapprehension. Upon deciding the Classic case in 1941, the Court said with reference to the Breedlove decision: "When we spoke about the states having power to prescribe qualifications, we meant to the degree that they did it without encroaching upon the Federal prerogative, or to the degree that the Federal Government allowed them to exercise that power."

In addtion, the Court proceeded to explicitly enumerate the respective rights of the states and federal government:

> While in a loose sense, the right to vote for Representatives in Congress is sometimes spoken of as a right derived from the states, this statement is true only in the sense that the states are authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject as provided by Section 2 of Article I, to the extent that Congress has not restricted state action by the exercise of its powers to regulate elections under Section 4, and its more general power under Section 8 'to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers.

The Section 4 referred to provides that "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations . . . " And as was said in *United States* v. *Munford*, "If Congress can provide for the manner of elections, it can certainly provide that it shall be an honest manner; that there shall be no repression of voters and an honest count of the ballot."

The *Classic case*, incidentally, came up from Louisiana, where the defendants were convicted under an old statute of conspiring to deprive a citizen of the enjoyment of a right granted him by the Constitution. The case involved a primary election, but inasmuch as Louisiana law makes the primary an integral part of the election, and in fact tantamount to it, the Supreme Court held that the constitutionally-granted right to vote for congressmen extends to such primaries; and the convictions were upheld.

Legal Memorandum

One of the strongest refutations of the allegations of the poll taxers was a memorandum submitted to the 1942 hearings committee by ten noted legal authorities, six of whom are Southerners by birth, education, or residence: Robert K. Wettach and M. T. Van Hecke, dean and ex-dean of the University of North Carolina Law School; Leon Greene of Louisiana and Texas, now dean of Northwestern University Law School; George Gordon Battle of North Carolina and Virginia, leading Southern member of the New York Bar Association; Walton Hamilton of Tennessee, professor of constitutional law at Yale; and Myres S. McDougal of Mississippi, another Yale law professor.

"Assuming that certain restrictions on the suffrage which are not genuine qualifications may be imposed by the states in the absence of Congressional action," their memorandum said, "such restrictions do not escape the federal power to preserve the integrity of federal elections and to protect the rights of constitutionally qualified voters. In the exercise of its powers over federal elections, it is altogether fitting and proper for the Congress to prohibit state poll tax requirements if in the judgment of the Congress such requirements unduly restrict the rights of national citizenship and make for fraud and corruption in federal elections."

The preamble to the anti-poll-tax bill contains just such a Congressional finding: that the tax "is detrimental to the integrity of the ballot" and that "such requirements cause, induce, and abet practices and methods . . . detrimental to the proper selection of persons for national offices."

As Irving Brant, author of *Storm Over the Constitution*, has said, "If the Constitution did not contain a single word on the subject of Congressional elections, Congress would have plenary power to regulate them as a part of the implied power of a supreme government to maintain its supremacy, of an independent government to maintain its independence, of a republican government to maintain its republicanism."

The Constitution does specifically provide (Section 3, Article IV) that "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government." Madison very properly cautioned against calling everything a republic which was not a monarchy or pure democracy. "We may define a republic to be, or at least may bestow that name on, a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding offices during their pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior. It is essential to such a government that it be derived from the great body of the society, not from an inconsiderable proportion, or a favored class of it."

By that definition—stated more concisely by Lincoln as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—republican government has not existed in the eight Southern poll-tax states for the past half century. Republican government means majority rule; poll-tax government means minority rule; therefore the two are incompatible.

Advertise to a SELECTED CLIENTELE in THE CRISIS

A Legitimate Theatre for Harlem

By Constance Curtis and Adele Glasgow

"Anna Lucasta," now playing at the Mansfield, was first produced in Harlem by the American Negro Theatre. Below is a brief sketch of this little known theatrical group

A NEW star blazed across the Broadway horizon recently and left in her wake something new in the American theatre. New York's sophisticated audiences became conscious of the Negro actor as a serious, dramatic personage after the opening of "Anna Lucasta."

The star, 24 year old Hilda Simms, in her meteoric rise, has made the nation conscious of the existence of the American Negro Theatre (ANT) of which Hilda and many of "Anna Lucasta's" talented cast are products.

Within the past year, ANT has received wide publicity because, for the first time, it has captured the public fancy. Members of the group recognized the worth of Philip Yordan's play and presented it in their basement theatre after it had been rejected by a number of Broadway producers.

Top ranking critics of New York's daily press confirmed ANT's belief in its possibilities as good theatre when they endured the hot stuffiness of the workshop to emerge as spellbound fans. Enthusiastic over this group of young artists and craftsmen who, despite terrific handicaps, were putting on finished productions, even the toughest of them carried rave notices. Following this, John Wildberg decided to re-do "Anna" Broadway fashion.

The story still untold however is of the group's four year struggle for recognition as a community theatre. Each season, though they have received support from a few interested Harlem citizens, financial worries have dogged their steps. Many times funds for productions have come from the pockets of the actors themselves, and the only return has been an opportunity for expression as serious artists.

Harlem's one million residents have been slow to recognize the worth of this new theatre movement. Only recently, and still to a small degree, have they become cognizant of the fact that within their boundaries a significant movement has arisen which is part of the forward sweep of the Negro in American democracy.

From its inception in 1940, the members have recognized the importance of a vital, Negro people's theatre movement. They have looked at the record in other arts; and have been confident that a group so gifted had much to give the American and the world theatre. The subtle rhythms of the Negro's music; the resonance and melody of his voice; the natural grace of his movements

Abram Hill, director of the American Negro Theatre.

—all were unexploited gifts which our group had within its power to develop. The unsatisfying experiences on the professional stage and in the movies made the necessity for such a movement imperative.

ANT's first production, "Striver's Row," authored by its talented young director, Abram Hill, was received with rather mild enthusiasm. Following other productions of the group, they made their first appearance in a Broadway production when they took "Three's A Family" to the Longacre theatre under the sponsorship of the *Amsterdam News*.

The program calls for two types of plays, either those dealing with the lives and problems of Negroes presented in undistorted fashion or those of people. In the latter group are plays like "Anna Lucasta" which deals with situations carrying no racial tag, except as given one by the American theatre. Since the talent of Negroes in the dramatic field is unquestinoed, the group feels it can do, not only a good job, but an exceptional one, with any story which lends itself to dramatization. As a matter of fact, Philip Yordan's "Anna" was a Polish-American girl. As played by a Negro actress, the role is not only credible but "Anna" has emerged as a portrayal of which any actress may well be proud.

The past years in the life of the ANT have been full ones, and they have been years in which all the members have given generously of their talents to the theatre movement. The future will hold even more for them, for their plans are ambitious.

The hope of this experimental group is to build, soon, within Harlem, a theatre in which their plays may be presented. Until the present, despite the huge population within these boundaries, there is no legitimate theatre house. Their goal for the future is the erection of such a theatre. Their dream for it is a dream for the Negro people since it will be a theatre of the people.

Dramatic companies throughout the nation are watching with new hope the advance of this group. They carry the promise of a new day for the Negro in an art where before he has had little chance for expression.

NEXT MONTH

"A Voice at the Peace Table?" An article by Ernest E. Johnson discussing the need for full expression in the peace of colored peoples the world over. Out November 1.

SACRIFICE

To love,
And be loved for loving;
To have "will",
To do the task willing;
To desire
Things worthy of desiring;
To strive,
Without being driven;
To Question
Without just being curious;
To have a goal
That isn't purely golden;
To give
Without the thought of giving;
Makes life
A truly worthwhile living.

PRICE DEAYLLON RICE

Will Marion Cook: He Helped Them All

By Mercer Cook

A son's sketch of a little-known side of the character of a famous father. Will Marion Cook, who died at the age of seventy-five last July 19 was generous of both his talent and pocketbook

FOUR months ago I saw my Dad for the last time. He had come to Haiti in December, thus fulfilling at seventy-five a lifelong ambition. For a while, it seemed that the glorious sunshine and beauty of the Negro Republic had accomplished a miraculous rejuvenation, but eventually the old ills returned and, at Dad's request, I took him to Saint François de Sales Hospital.

Here he responded remarkably to treatment. On one of my daily visits, not long after he had entered the hospital, I was surprised to see him sitting at a table and writing frantically.

"There's a genius down the hall," he explained, "with a voice that surpasses Sarah Bernhardt's. I'm writing to Gene Buck, Al Jolson, and Abbie. If only Abbie can come down and train that girl and a few other talented young Haitians, we can give Broadway its greatest thrill since Williams and Walker!"

"But, Dad," I objected, "your first job is to get yourself well. Then you can start thinking about others."

"Damn it!" he thundered, "I've been helping people all my life, and I don't intend to stop now!"

I have quoted that incident for it is typical of so many conversations I had with Dad through the years. It casts a light on his life and character that has been overlooked in most of his obituary notices. These have revealed him primarily as the pioneer composer, the collaborator of Paul Laurence Dunbar, Harry T. Burleigh, Richard B. Harrison, Williams and Walker, and Abbie Mitchell. I should like to add a note about his generosity, which was sometimes hidden, but never completely effaced by his eccentricity.

Those who are accustomed to attribute characteristics to heredity or to early associations might find the source of Dad's unselfishness in his mother, who taught sewing at Howard to help raise her three fatherless sons, and who was never known to give a thought to herself as she sacrificed, first for her favorite, Willie, and then for Willie's two children. The other lasting influence on my father's youth was Frederick Douglass, who disinterestedly helped him to continue his musical education in Germany. These were Dad's first two loves. To the end, Fred Douglass remained his hero. As for his mother, his repeated request about his funeral was that someone should play "Mammy," which he had subtitled "My Song to My Mammy."

Helped Many

I don't pretend to know all the people my Dad helped, nor would I intimate that all of his beneficiaries were forgetful of his favors. (Because of his erratic temperament, it was not always easy to remain on close terms with him long enough to reciprocate.) I do know, however, that he found a publisher for many an unknown composer, or an opening for many a deserving performer. I have seen him, with less than fifty cents in his pocket, enter the offices of the Shapiro, Bernstein Music Corporation to get twenty dollars to send an ailing Negro singer to the country—a singer whom he scarcely knew. I have seen him, after an unprofitable week at the old Lafayette, pay out every cent to his men and go to his furnished room without his own rent. And I have seen him object to a small daily allowance merely because it would not permit him to treat unfortunate chance acquaintances to lunch.

At times, during the last years, while he was writing his autobiography, "A Helluva Life," which I hope someday to complete, he would stop and reminisce. One of his favorite stories was about Bob Cole and the Johnson Brothers. Back in 1898, Dunbar and Dad had introduced a new kind of music to America with their "Clorindy, or Origin of the Cakewalk." Dad's "Darktown Is Out Tonight" had swept the country, and, with his "On Emancipation Day" and "Who Dat Say Chicken in Dis Crowd," had gained him an entrée with all the music publishers. While Dad was enjoying this popularity, two young writers from Florida came up to New York: Rosamond and James Weldon Johnson. They began to collaborate with Bob Cole. Though Dad did not particularly like the latter, he admired his talent, and he helped the three to get their famous "Under the Bamboo Tree" published.

Discovered Al Jolson

Other memories of the early years would include his first contacts with now famous artists like Belle Baker, Fannie Brice, and Al Jolson. He found Jolson one evening playing in a third-rate vaudeville house.

"What are you doing here, boy?" Dad asked. "You're great! You belong on Broadway."

Then, according to Dad, Jolson's eyes filled with tears as he said, "They won't give me a chance."

The next day, Dad had raved so much about his "find," that the Shuberts looked Jolson over and signed him up, thus beginning a successful association which lasted more than a decade.

One day, during a conversation with a leading Broadway producer—it was either Erlanger or Ziegfeld—Dad said, "The two greatest artists in America today are Fannie Brice and Bert Williams. Why don't you co-star them in a play?"

"The public wouldn't stand for it," the producer replied.

One year later, the public stood for it literally, for there was "standing room only" to see Bert Williams and Fannie Brice in the Ziegfeld Follies.

As the years passed, Dad picked up one protege after another. A partial list would include: Will Vodery; Luckey Roberts, that prince of good fellows; Harold Arlen, composer of "Stormy Weather", "Over the Rainbow," etc.; James P. Johnson; Sidney Bechet; Opal Cooper; Duke Ellington; and the inimitable Southernaires, who have done more than any other Negro group to keep his music alive. Because he believed in Ethel Waters' artistry, he persuaded the late Otto Kahn to back her show "Africana." Dad also helped to hold "Runnin' Wild" together during the turbulent try-out days. Characteristically, after the show had become a success, he withdrew as musical director.

Started Jazz Vogue in Europe

By taking his New York Syncopated Orchestra to Europe in 1919, he was instrumental in creating the vogue for Negro musicians in England and all over the continent. One of his most valuable legacies has been the statement which I have heard so often in Paris and New York: "Your Dad gave me my start."

In 1925, a woman named Caroline Dudley was planning to produce a Negro revue in Paris. With a six-week contract from the

(Continued on page 328)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

NEGRO SOLDIERS SUPPORT NAACP: So far as war aims are concerned our soldiers, white and Negro, are fighting in a fog of doubt and uncertainty. They have no deep political beliefs about the war and their realistic appraisal of the world scene convinces them that this is not a war for any of the four freedoms. Negro soldiers, however, do have a slight edge on their white brothers because they are fighting with the deep-seated conviction that when they return home American democracy must become a real and living thing and broad enough to include all Americans. Their experiences both at home and abroad have made them deeply conscious of the discriminations from which they suffer and given them a resolve to do something about it. Proof of this is found in the thousands of Negro soldiers who have joined the NAACP in recent months and the more than $25,000 which they have contributed out of their soldier's pay.

Trezzvant W. Anderson, stationed when last heard from somewhere in England, sends in an account of a Negro engineer aviation regiment in England in which every enlisted man in the comapny took out a one-year membership in the NAACP. Walter White visited these units in January, but must have had no idea that this would be the result of his trip.

The direct inspiration and leadership for the idea came from Corporal George Jones, a company construction foreman, who is the son of Mrs. Leona Borquet of New Orleans, La. He was ably assisted by T/S David Downs of Louisville, Ky., and John W. Houston of Huntington, West Virginia. Also in the project were Staff Sergeants James Henry Walton, Henry E. Whiteside, and George C. Sanders.

RECENT LEGAL ACTION: During past months the Association has proffered legal aid in several cases involving violation of the civil and constitutionad rights of Negro citizens. In Birmingham, Ala., Arthur D. Shores, a member of the legal committee, has been granted permission to appear before the ICC examiner to represent plaintiffs in the case of Le Flore and Crishon in their suit for $2,500 against the Gulfport, Mobile and Ohio railroad for denial of Pullman reservations. The complaint alleges that the plaintiffs were denied Pullman reservations because of their race and color, despite the fact that traveling space was available. They further allege that dining car space was denied them for the same reason.

In the Spicely case Edward R. Dudley of the legal staff went to Durham, N. C., to investigate the circumstances surrounding the killing of Pvt. Booker T. Spicely by a bus driver in that city. This case was originally taken up by the Philadelphia branch, since Spicely's sister lives in that city and had urged the branch to aid in the prosecution, but was later referred to the national office. Pvt. Spicely was killed July 8 by H. L. Council, a white bus driver, in an argument involving the sta e jim crow laws. Trial of Council was scheduled to begin September 20 on a first-degree murder charge, but it has been reported that the prosecution will ask for a change to second-degree murder, which carries a sentence of from five to thirty years on convicition. Offers of outside organizations to participate in the prosecution have been refused by local Negro leaders on the strength of a promise by Governor Broughton that there will be a fair trial.

On August 21 special counsel Thurgood Marshall, assisted by Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, appeared before the U. S. District Court in the northern district of Alabama to argue the case of *W. L. Patterson vs. Registration Board of Birmingham, Alabama.* The original complaint was filed in August, 1942, when several Negroes presented themselves to the registrars for the purpose of qualifying for the privilege of voting. The complaint states that the board of registrars unlawfully combined and conspired together to prevent Negro residents of Jackson county from being registered. The oral arguments heard on August 21 were on the defendant's motion to dismiss the complaint.

In California attorneys for Joseph James and other Negro workers in the Marinship Corporation have filed a supplemental brief in the supreme court of the state of California where the case is now pending. An action was filed early in the year in San Francisco against the Boilermakers seeking to enjoin the union from discriminating against its Negro members. Pleadings in the case pointed out that the Boilermakers held a closed shop agreement with the Marinship Corporation whereby all employes were required to be members of the Boilermakers

PANCAS KNOXVILLE BRANCH, 1944

Reading from left to right: first row Madison Smith, Mrs. Beatrix Kennedy, Mrs. Ruth Griffin, Mrs. Maye Howell, Mrs. D. A. Jackson; second row Doris Scott, Shirley Boyd, Mrs. Marie Nelson, Mrs. Pearl E. Franklin, unidentified, Charles H. Trent, and Rev. B. B. Evans, president. Other Pancas are not included in this picture.

union; but Negroes, it is alleged, were relegated to the status of auxiliary members and were denied the rights of full union membership. Auxiliary members had no vote nor control over the affairs of the union, and they were denied equal insurance and other benefits incidental to union membership. This supplemental brief points out that: "The Negro workers ask for equal union membership in order to protect the closed shop, and they offer willingly to pay dues and to support the union, but with membership on terms and conditions equal with white members."

This case, along with similar cases in California and the pending case against the Boilermakers in Providence, R. I., are all aimed at breaking down the discriminatory policies existing in many labor unions.

PROTEST JIM CROW HOLC PRACTICES: A letter was sent by the legal department in August protesting the discriminatory practices of HOLC in the case of Miss Daphne Herbert who had submitted forms and fulfilled special requirements for a loan on the purchase of a home in Corona, L. I. When the request was first denied by the government agency, it was found that the application had been marked "colored prospect." Reconsideration was based on both the raising of the original price of the home as well as the down payment.

AMENDMENT INCLUDED IN SURPLUS BILL: At the request of the Washington bureau, Senator Robert F. Wagner, N. Y., has succeeded in having Senate bill S. 2065, providing for the disposal of surplus property, amended to prohibit discrimination.

According to estimations there will be between fifty and one hundred and twelve billions dollars worth of government-owned property available for distribution after the war. While much of this property will consist of weapons of war, there will still be many billions of dollars worth of civilian consumer goods available. Of particular interest to Negroes is the estimated two hundred and sixty-four million dollars worth of medical and dental supplies which may be distributed to tax-supported and non-profit medical institutions and hospitals in areas where facilities are inadequate. There also will be enormous stockpiles of equipment left over from the military training program which will be suitable for distribution to vocational and engineering schools.

The amendment introduced by Senator Wagner requires the head of the Surplus War Property Administration, which the bill proposes to set up, "to devise ways and means and prescribe regulations and directives to prevent any discrimination against persons (institutions and corporations) in the disposal, distribution and use of any government property covered by this Act on account of race, creed or color."

Senator Wagner is also contending for inclusion in the bill of a provision for representation of all racial minority groups on advisory committees set up to assist in making policies governing the disposition of these materials.

NAACP WORKER

Mrs. Audia H. Roberts of the St. Louis branch. See Missouri item p. 325.

DETROIT SECRETARY AWARDED SCHOLARSHIP: Gloster B. Current, executive secretary of the Detroit branch, has been awarded a 1944-45 scholarship at Wayne university. Mr. Current, whose dynamic leadership is largely responsible for the phenominal growth of the Detroit branch (more than 23,000 members), received the scholarship for outstanding work in public service. He entered the National Training School Division of the university September 15.

URGE NEGRO APPOINTMENT VETERANS ADMINISTRATION: The NAACP in a letter to Brig.-Gen. Frank T. Hines urged the appointment of a qualified Negro as as assistant administrator of veterans affairs to protect the rights of Negro veterans and to provide essential on-the-spot advice for the solution of prevailing problems. The letter also suggested appointment of those qualified in administration and executive capacities to all branches of the Veterans Administration.

LYNCHING REVEALED BY SON'S AFFIDAVIT: A lynch-killing of a 66-year-old minister last March 26 in Amite county, Miss., because he hired a lawyer to safeguard his title to a 220-acre debt-free farm, was revealed in August in an affidavit sworn to by Eldridge Simmons, son of the murdered man. Rev. Isaac Simmons was going peacefully about the business of running his farm and had had no trouble until it began to be suspected that there was oil on his land. Whites then tried to inveigle him out of his property; when they found he had consulted a lawyer they got together a small mob and killed him in the presence of his son, who was later driven from the county.

Eldridge Simmons sent his affidavit to the New York office which in turn asked Governor Thomas L. Bailey of Mississippi to investigate. Attorney General Biddle was asked to examine into the possibility that federal conspiracy statutes might have been violated.

Branch News

ALABAMA: In July the Montgomery branch organized a youth council. The meeting was held at the First Congregational church, and the following temporary youth council officers were elected: Henry Bell, president; Joseph Marshall, vice-president; Miss Helen Thomas, secretary; and Edgar D. Nixon, Jr., treasurer. Purpose of the youth council was explained in a talk by R. L. Mathews.

ARIZONA: The Yavapai county branch held its regular meeting in September at the People's AMEZ church when the charter, presented by Jasper Maupin, president, was unveiled. Claude Nash spoke on "Progress and Advancement of the Negro Since 1865", Benjamin Coleman on "The Negro and the Postwar Plan"; and Mrs. Jasper Maupin on "The History and Purpose of the NAACP." The program concluded with refreshments and singing of the "Star Spangled Banner."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: In response to a call issued by trade unions and civic organizations of the District of Columbia three hundred workers assembled at noon on Labor Day on the steps of the Blood Donation Center of the American Red Cross to donate blood to America's fighting men.

The call was issued by the CIO's Industrial Union Council and the District of Columbia branch.

Instructed to assemble at noon at the American Red Cross Blood Donation Center, interested workers were to donate blood and register their protests against the segregation policy of the American Red Cross in the handling of blood donations.

A brief Labor Day program had been planned commemorating the contribution of American workers of all races to the war effort and to stimulate blood donations.

To the surprise of the 300 odd workers, a representative of the American Red Cross, who had formerly consented to the program, flanked by District of Columbia police, informed them that the planned assembly could not be held on the steps of the Blood Donation Center.

Led by Joseph Philips, president of the Industrial Union Council, and Judge William H. Hastie, president of the Washington branch ,the group moved across the street to the Capitol grounds to proceed with the program. There they were met by a corps of Capitol police and informed that they could not congregate on the Capitol grounds.

Many of the workers who were on their lunch hour, faced by such obviously planned opposition, returned in disappointment to their jobs without making their donation, yet more than a hundred remained to give their blood.

In summing up the entire situation Judge Hastie said:

"This Labor Day witnessed the sorry spectacle of federal authority, local District of Columbia authority, and the American Red Cross using the combined forces of the Capitol police and the District of Columbia police to prevent a gathering of American citizens, either in a public park or upon the steps of the Red Cross Blood Donation Center, for the purpose of publicizing and stimulating the donation of blood by their fellow citizens, white and colored, despite and simultaneous with their protest against the vicious rule of the Army and the Red Cross that blood for wounded soldiers and sailors be segregated by race.

"Prospective blood donors found a score of police officers, federal and local, gathered in advance at the Blood Donation Center and on the Capitol grounds to prevent them from the proper use of public space for a public purpose in support of the war effort.

"To the bigotry which resulted in the segregation of blood in the first instance is now added the arbitrary use of the police to prevent public assembly and discussion by those who are giving their own blood and urging others to do the same.

"But neither free speech nor the issue of segregated blood banks can be suppressed so easily. This abuse of public authority can have only one result—to bring the issue more sharply to the attention of the public and to cause all believers in democracy and free speech to fight harder against such intolerance and such abuse of public power."

KANSAS: Membership drive of the Coffeyville branch under the leadership of G. L. May, president, was very successful. One hundred twenty members were added. Outstanding members of the branch are Grant W. Cain, a volunteer worker who secured thirty-five workers in one week; and Ossie Jones, a world war veteran who was responsible for fifteen members. Slogan of the branch is "Striving to lift and enlighten our citizenry to make a better place to live."

MARYLAND: Fifth annual baby popularity contest of the Baltimore branch raised a total of $1,705. There were more than one hundred participants. Most popular baby was William A. Harris with 1,700 votes, who

LECTURER

Miss Clara L. Smith, secretary of the Paterson, N. J., branch. She set a precedent when she addressed a group of teachers and welfare workers at the summer session of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Paterson.

raised $85 and received a silver loving cup. Second prize, a diamond ring, went to Leonora J. Wood, who secured 1,057 votes and $53.85. Third prize, a silver drinking cup, was awarded Michael Valentine, who brought in 1,060 votes and $50.50. Paul Hutchins, Jr., and Veronica B. Best, who raised $50 each, received gold rings.

Participants on the program for the baby audience were Charles Powell, Avon Childs, Clarence and Keiffer Mitchell, John Davis, Kay Burke, William Haynes, and Stephen Burke.

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the branch, expressed appreciation to the parents and friends of the children. Every baby received a gift and those who secured $20 or more received gold rings, lockets, crosses, and pins. Moving pictures of the babies were taken.

MINNESOTA: The Minneapolis branch has won its first round in its efforts to have James Parker reopen his restaurant against hoodlum protest. On July 26, 1944, Parker applied for a restaurant license and his application was taken and filed and as it is customary for one to open upon filing of license, Parker was told to do so. Yet on Friday, August 4, Jens Christensen came into Parker's place, the Moonglow Chicken Shack, and told him not to do so. Christensen objected to Parker's opening on the grounds that there were already enough "joints" in the block. Despite opposition, Parker opened his business August 5 at 7:00 P. M., and at 8 the same evening a policeman came in and said that he had papers to arrest Parker for serving food without license. Christensen then circulated petitions throughout the community opposing granting of a restaurant license to Parker and asked for a public hearing on the matter. At the public hearing both white and colored people spoke for and against the granting of the license. The city council, however, voted to grant the license and it was granted. When Parker again opened for business, there were hoodlum attacks upon his place. And a campaign of pressure and violence was promoted against Parker as well as his landlord, Mrs. Cecelia Favrow. Alderman Jens Christensen was the instigator of this disorder and the branch has urged that steps be taken for his removal from office.

MISSOURI: Mrs. Audia H. Roberts, member of the executive committee of the St. Louis branch, was recently appointed chairman of its program committee. As a division leader in the membership drive, she has led each of the last three membership campaigns by reporting both the largest number of members as well as the largest amount of money. In the 1944 campaign she reported 2,052 members and $2,822.00. This was more than all the divisions reported prior to 1939. Her division, The Marian Anderson, last month received a gift of $212.00 from the 3447th Quartermaster Truck Company stationed somewhere in New Guinea.

NEW JERSEY: Lt.-Col. Frank W. Snowden, Sgt. O. Phillip Snowden, and Prof. Frank W. Snowden, Jr., of Howard university have instituted separate suits in the Elizabeth district court for the full amount of damages under the New Jersey civil rights act.

The action grew out of the refusal of Howard Johnson's restaurant to serve the Snowden party which was travelling through Elizabeth en route to Camp Lee, Va., October 3, 1943. The matter was referred by the Snowdens to the national office of the NAACP, which office in turn referred the matter to the Elizabeth branch. Then there was a long and tedious search to find the owner of the Howard restaurant, since each restaurant in the chain generally operates under a franchise from the parent corporation. The suits will be tried early this fall and were filed by J. Leroy Jordan, attorney for the Elizabeth branch.

NORTH CAROLINA: The Rocky Mount branch started its fall drive with a mass meeting at the St. James Baptist church in conjunction with the regular church services, thanks to the cooperation of Rev. C. I. Mason, pastor. T. V. Magnum, president of the N. C. Conference, was the guest speaker. With a goal of 500 members, fifty memberships were secured during the first week of the drive. E. C. Hunter is branch president; J. B. Harren, secretary.

OHIO: Dr. John F. Luber, nationally

known sociologist of Kent and Ohio State universities, was guest speaker at a forum meeting sponsored by the Massillon branch in August. Subject of the talk was "Post War Racial Problems and Minority Groups" in which Dr. Cuber called attention to Negro advancement as a result of the war emergency and the necessity for intelligent Negroes and whites to work together harmoniously for continued better race relations. Oscar W. Ritchie introduced the speaker and George T. Allen, branch president, made the opening remarks.

Executive board meeting of the Oxford branch was held in August at the home of Mrs. Emma Warren where reports were read and received.

The Canton branch closed its membership drive August 4 with a banquet at the Canton Urban League. State president, Rev. Gibson of Youngstown, was the guest speaker. Miss Dolores led in singing the Negro national anthem.

This branch now has more than three hundred members, the largest the branch has ever had.

PENNSYLVANIA: G. James Fleming, regional FEPC director, recently addressed the York branch in the Penn Senior high school. Mr. Fleming was introduced by Rev. Frank A. Reed, president of the branch.

Commending local newspapers, daily and weekly, on their fine news coverage during the recent PTC strike, the Philadelphia branch through its executive secretary, Mrs. Carolyn Davenport Moore, stated: "Your handling of news on the recent strike of 6,000 PTC employees . . . deserves great commendation."

The branch has also asked Governor Edward H. Martin and Mayor Bernard Samuel to issue a statement as to their official positions in the recent PTC strike involving the issue of whether Negroes shall have the right to work at jobs for which they are qualified.

A contribution of $100 was recently made to the Philadelphia branch by Pierre Morgan, a conscientious objector who recently received an honorable discharge from the Army on grounds of religious principle.

Dr. William C. Bragg, dentist, has been named special representative of the branch on the steering committee of the Citizens Political Education Committee. Newton Downing, who has been in the Army three years, was personally responsible for the two hundred new members and $800 in cash sent the branch from Iran. Thomas Reed of the legal committee has been asked to investigate the arrest and beating of Walter McQueen and Mr. and Mrs. Charles McQueen by Pennsylvania railroad detectives in August. The branch is also representing the sister of a soldier killed in cold blood by a North Carolina bus driver. According to statements obtained from witnesses, Pvt. Booker Spicely was shot by H. L. Council during an argument involving state jim crow laws.

The first of a series of attractions to be known as a "Night of the Stars" was presented by the branch September 15 at the Mercantile Hall. Stars to appear on this program are Miss Camilla Williams, soprano; Miss Elton Warren, soprano; Miss Vivian Rolan, mezzo-soprano; Miss Constance Stokes, mezzo-soprano; Nathaniel Dickenson, baritone; and William Ellis, tenor.

TENNESSEE: On August 7 the Knoxville branch sponsored a testimonial dinner in honor of Rev. Evans, president of the branch, who recently left Knoxville to pastor the Mt. Carmel Presbyterian church in Cincinnati, Ohio. More than seventy persons attended the banquet held in the dining room of the Mt. Zion Baptist church. David N. Howell, executive secretary of the YMCA, was toastmaster; and a social committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ruth Griffin was responsible for the dinner. Rev. Evans was given a purse and his wife a corsage of orchids.

Youth Council News

SIXTH ANNUAL YOUTH CONFERENCE (FORMERLY THE STUDENT CONFERENCE): The call to the sixth annual Youth Conference is being sent out to the 135 youth councils and 23 college chapters of the NAACP. All colleges, youth serving agencies, and youth organizations are invited to send representatives to Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., November 17, 18, 19, 1944.

The theme of the conference last year was "Blueprint for Action." Delegates recognized the problems facing them and planned a program of action. This year the theme is "Building For Total Democracy," and youth is challenged to meet the needs which are arising as we approach the end of war.

Continuing the training in NAACP youth leadership, topics to be discussed are: Recruiting for the NAACP, a mass organization, methods, program, publicity and propaganda; protest and pressure techniques; and Negro youth relationships to national and international minority problems.

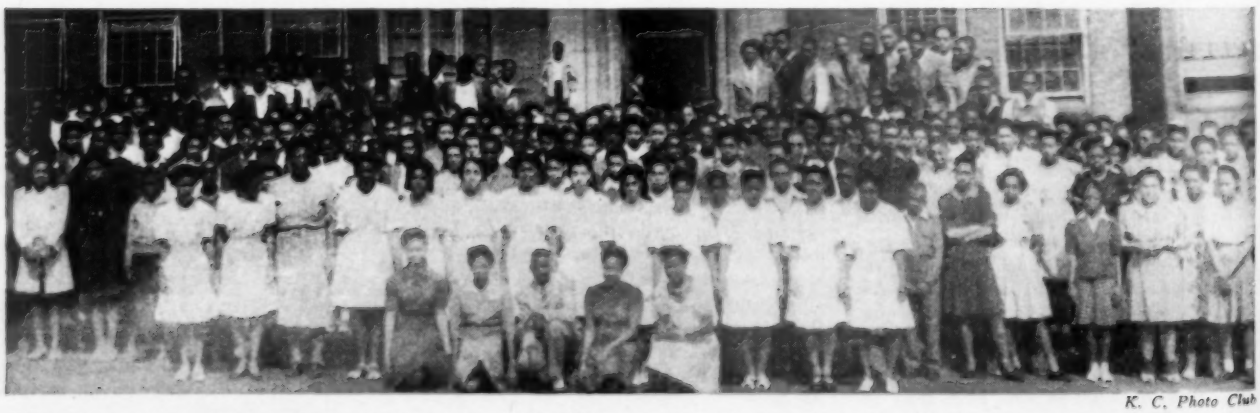
BACK TO SCHOOL DRIVE: The summer vacation is over. The thousands of young people who have been helping their country in war jobs are urged to return to school. More service can be rendered to themselves and to the country by becoming educated citizens. Through study and training they will be better equipped to do the work that will have to be done when the war is over.

Parents and guardians are asked to insist upon their children going back to school. Youth is urged.....Go back to school.

GROUPS CHARTERED: Huntingtown, Maryland; Georgetown, South Carolina; Keokuk, Iowa; Oxford, Ohio; Urbana, Ohio; West Chester, Pa.; Harlan County, Ky.; Bloomington, Ill.; Brownwood, Texas; Bryn Mawr.

(*Continued on page 328*)

LARGEST NAACP YOUTH COUNCIL IN AMERICA



K. C. Photo Club

This picture shows part of the Knoxville, Tenn., youth council, the largest in the country. This council has a membership of more than 1,184 members.

MORE PICTURES OF SOME OF OUR BRANCH PRESIDENTS

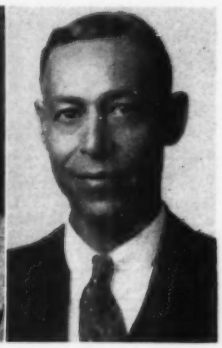
Samuel S. Dillard
Chicago Heights, Ill.

Mrs. Julia Pennington
Greater Coatesville, Pa.

Bravell M. Nesbitt
Elizabeth, N. J.

Arthur McCants
Las Vegas, Nevada

Edward W. Carson
Johnson City, Tenn.



Rev. W. A. Jackson
Lawrence, Kansas

C. L. Lewis
Lawton, Okla.

Rev. Clarence Nelson
St. Paul, Minn.

Herbert X. Towles
Sandusky, Ohio

Grayce L. Salley
Cambria, Va.

R. J. Simmons, Jr.
Duluth, Minn.

Leroy Johnson
Rogers County, Okla.

Howard W. King
Cape May, N. J.

Richard Bowman
Long Branch, N. J.

Rev. W. P. Carter
Santa Monica, Calif.

Rev. E. W. Whited
Rentiesville, Okla.

Rev. C. S. Marshall
Keyport-Matawan, N. J.

E. J. Cranberry
Albany, Ga.

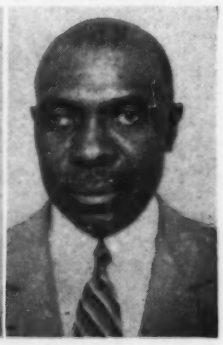
David Rudd, Sr.
Casper, Wyom.

James T. McCan
Sumter, S. C.

Rev. R. C. Moore
Saline County, Mo.

George W. McHart
Martin County, Fla.

Robert M. Evans
Port Huron, Mich.



Thomas Aylor
Murphysboro, Ill.

(This is a continuing feature and *The Crisis* will carry more pictures of branch presidents in subsequent issues.)

What The Negro Soldier Thinks

(*Continued from page 318*)

reflection of War Department policy, and implores the conscience of the nation that such utter disregard for his welfare be immediately investigated and proper corrective measures instituted.

The Negro soldier holds the War Department responsible for the daily un-American treatment he receives in the surrounding villages of most Army camps. Any agency which can completely uproot an entire racial group and place it in concentration camps but which cannot insure him elementary protection well deserves his condemnation. Negro soldiers know that these conditions could be changed by a simple order from the post commander. Such an order placing communities guilty of abusing American soldiers off-limits would immediately engage the local chambers of commerce and merchants associations in a crusade for better treatment for these soldiers. Why then, the Negro soldier asks himself, has not the War Department sent out such an order to its post commanders? Is it part of War Department policy to perpetuate these insulting conditions?

Colored soldiers are being trained each day to the latest and most diabolical techniques of destroying life that the mind of man can evolve. He not only learns to kill with the rifle, the hand grenade and the bayonet, but with his bare hands is taught to mutilate and dismember the body of an enemy. The War Department thus is making deadly killers of Sam Jackson and Henry Jones and the nice boy who once lived in the next block.

When these men return from participating in the global struggle they will have paid the price of freedom and decency. If they are denied these privileges guaranteed all American citizens and if such denial prompts them to engage in bloody, conflict, much of the responsibility must be laid at the very door of the War Department.

Will Marion Cook

(*Continued from page 323*)

Champs-Elysées Music Hall, she came to New York to select her performers. When she told Dad of her plans, he insisted that she star a girl who had enjoyed some success in the chorus of "Shuffle Along."

"But she's only a chorus girl!"

"Never you mind, Paris will eat her up!" Dad assured Mrs. Dudley.

Once again he was right. Within two months, all Paris was at the feet of the ex-chorus girl, Josephine Baker. Dad hadn't even bothered to go along and share the profits. He had walked out "in a huff" one day during rehearsal.

That was my Dad—excitable, uncompromising, often impractical, but always unselfish. In my grief over his passing, I wanted to say just that.

Youth Council News

(*Continued from page 326*)

Pa.; La Mort, Pa.; Charleston, S. C.; Houston College, Houston, Texas; Sumter, S. C.; James Weldon Johnson Unit, Baltimore, Md.

YOUTH NEWS: Mamaroneck, N. Y.: The recently organized youth council of Mamaroneck, N. Y., was presented its charter by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, youth secretary. The welcome address was delivered by Marvin Mitchell and the master of ceremonies was R. Gudger, president of the council. Mr. Gudger is also president of the general organizations of a Mamaroneck high school.

Gary, Indiana: As the result of its participation in the nation-wide membership campaign, the Gary branch organized a youth council August 30, 1944. The officers are Mrs. Jessica Preston, president; David Hall, vice-president; Mrs. Mary Young, secretary; Miss Jean Cummings, assistant secretary; Mrs. Willie B. Crossley, treasurer; Mrs. Rosa Smith, advisor.

West Philadelphia, Pa.: The West Philadelphia youth council is in the news again with the publication of a newspaper titled *Youth Courier*. The last reported circulation of this 8-page paper is 2,000. It is significant to note that the editorial staff is composed of young people, the majority of whom are of teen-age.

The organizer and executive editor is William A. Clay, Jr., a progressive and versatile young man, 18 years of age. He is doing a remarkable job despite the fact that he has had no specialized training in newspaper work. Clarence L. Eaton the assistant editor and cartoonist is also 18 years of age. Other members of the staff include Odell Stukes, managing editor and council president; Pauline Johnson, secretary-treasurer; William C. Jaynes, liaison editor; Earl C. Lockwood, circulation manager; George Johnson, assistant circulating-manager; Daniel Waddy, subscription manager; Doris Pride, Channie Wilson, Rose Hinton, Gladys Johnson, Mildred Vann and Virginia Hunter, assistants.

This effort is one that may be an example to other groups of what can be done by other young people who have the initiative and the will to achieve. *Youth Courier* will be sent to any council upon request.

—BUY BOOKS—
Best Wartime Bargain

NEGRO HISTORY OFFERED

Under the direction of Dr. L. D. Reddick, the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library is offering, from October 7, 1944, to May 19, 1945, courses in a world view of the Negro question. Famous Negro and white scholars will discuss national and international topics of vital importance to Negroes and Americans. The course is designed to serve the needs of public officials and advanced students who are preparing themselves for research in the field of race relations.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Crisis, published monthly at New York, for October 1, 1944, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Ivy, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Crisis and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 69 Fifth Avenue; Editor, Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Avenue; Managing Editor, Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Avenue; Business Manager, James W. Ivy, 69 Fifth Avenue.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 69 Fifth Avenue; Dr. Louis T. Wright, President; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treasurer. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide ower; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

JAMES W. IVY.
Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1944.

(SEAL) SAMUEL SCHNEIDER.
(My commission expires March 30, 1944.)

Labor and the Negro

(Continued from page 313)

military and naval forces. And we know that because of the power and influence of poll tax Congressmen and prejudiced Republicans, our Commander-in-Chief has been unable, thus far, to materially alter this picture.

We know, too, how white soldiers abroad and white workers in the south have been denied the privilege of voting just because some senators and congressmen—and some governors also—are afraid of the Negro vote that would be unshackled once the poll tax bars are lowered.

There are certain democratic rights which the Constitution guarantees to all American citizens; and there are certain specific provisions which have been added to that great charter for the special benefit of Negroes. Among other things, the Constitution guarantees to all of us a government composed of the duly elected representatives of all the people. It especially guarantees to Negroes and the other minority groups in our country a right to participate in the selection of these representatives. In the Congress today these constitutional guarantees are being flouted by poll tax senators and representatives who hold the chairmanship of important congressional committees and have made of these committees a graveyard for legislation beneficial to labor and minority groups. We of the CIO have done and are determined to do more about this shameful state of affairs. Our platform demands that all poll taxers who head important house and senatorial committees be defeated and that Congress adopt a federal anti-poll tax law.

Several years ago President Roosevelt pointed out that one-third of our nation was ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. That statement is still true, notwithstanding our increased war-time housing and employment. It is true because Congress has done precious little to erase the basic causes. It is true because a handful of spiteful men in Washington and in the field have put corporate profits and self-interest above basic human needs.

Labor Baiting

Labor cannot submit quietly to labor-baiting legislation, to frozen wage scales, to inadequate housing and health facilities, and to increasing living costs here at home, any more than Negroes can ignore their exclusion from certain branches of our armed forces and their repeated denial of the simple attributes of political, social and economic justice here at home. We cannot, on the one hand, make the world safe for democracy, and on the other refuse to respect democratic principles here at home.

Labor wants, and I am confident that Negroes also want, the kind of peace that Vice-President Wallace has pleaded for so long and so earnestly. We want to usher in that "Century of the Common Man"; for we working people in America know that so long as liberty and justice is denied the working people in any other portion of the world, our own freedom is not secure.

Labor wants, as Negroes must want, senators and representatives who will bring us that kind of a peace. We want men of intelligent convictions, whose past records are neither equivocal nor tainted with isolationist sentiments. We want leaders who have demonstrated their fitness for world leadership by their words and their deeds in pivotal positions here at home.

We want a president who is not afraid of a simple ballot in the hands of free soldiers; we want a president who does not fear the franchise of our patriotic laboring men and women. We want a president who believes unhesitatingly in equality of job opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, creed, or color; who is acquainted by experience with the problems faced by us little folk and does not need a commission to study the question each year and report back to him. In short, we want Franklin Delano Roosevelt; for we believe that he alone is qualified to lead all segments of our people to a bigger, a more tolerant and more prosperous America.

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Book Review

RECONSTRUCTION REPORT

Freedom Road. **A novel by Howard Fast, 262 pp., Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, $2.75.**

In one of the most important books of our time when the question of races living together on an equality is a major one throughout the world, Howard Fast has taken the dozen years right after the Civil War in South Carolina and fashioned a dramatic argument for unity and equality.

It is not strange that a great many whites have challenged the factual background for the novel of Gideon Jackson and his band of white and black followers. The facts of the immediate post-war period and the Reconstruction have been well-concealed these many years. In fact, it is doubtful whether any period in our history has been so distorted as has Reconstruction. It was the Negroes who first coined the phrase: "The South lost at Appomattox, but won the war," and this truism has become more plain as the years have gone by. It is reflected today in the slander and defiance in the halls of Congress. In the brutal determination to keep Negroes "in their place" despite wars and bloodshed in torrents for liberation, human dignity, and equality, in the unholy alliance between certain northern Republicans and the unreconstructed rebels among the southern Democrats to defeat or emasculate legislation which would aid second-class white and Negro citizens.

The author tells his story around Gideon Jackson, slave on the huge Carwell plantation in South Carolina, who was sent by his bewildered relatives and neighbors among the freed slaves to Charleston to help in the framing of a new state Constitution. Slowly, painfully, the document was put together by Gideon and his illiterate but intelligent colleagues, poor white and poor black, with a sprinkling of educated Negroes and whites. After the fifteen weeks of struggle Gideon returned to his people determined to buy land, build schools, homes, roads—a new nation that was the promise, as they saw it, of the victory, the liberation, and the peace. Gideon was adamant in his purpose to include the poor whites and with diplomacy and honesty and a rugged forthright logic he won many of them to his side. Under his leadership they bought a goodly portion of the Carwell plantation at auction with a cash deposit the men had earned at a dollar a day working on the new railroad.

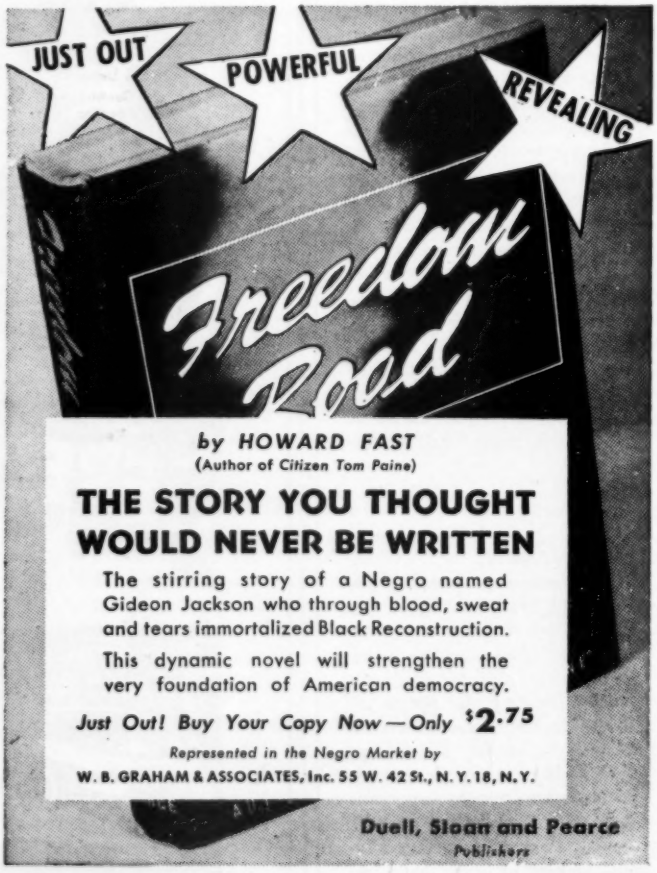
They built their community on the old plantation, the whites and blacks together. They paid their mortgage; they set up their school with white and black children sitting at the feet of a Negro teacher from New England. Gideon went on to serve in the state senate and then for a number of years as a congressman from South Carolina in the nation's capitol in Washington, while one of his sons went off to Scotland to study to be a doctor.

But all this was not to be. The Klan, hatched in the minds of the defeated planters during the South Carolina constitutional convention, was quietly organized against the day when the North would turn its back and go about developing its great industries, when the South eventually would be granted the right to direct its own destiny as it chose. That day came with the election of President Hayes and the withdrawal of Federal troops from the South. Within a space of weeks Carwell came tumbling down, and with it all the Carwells throughout the South were the despised of both races had made a beginning —together—on a new world.

Fast has told a powerful story whose power derives not only from the momentous issues moving toward resolution, but from the sheer simplicity, honesty, and integrity of the little people who saw so clearly their goal and the obstacles to it, and buckled to the struggle unafraid of discouragement, trickery and death itself.

DuBois told of all this in his *Black Reconstruction,* but Fast has illumined the facts with a moving story of Gideon Jackson and his people. Jackson, a gifted and natural leader (as were so many ex-slaves) ranges like the giant he is through the whole period, fighting, always fighting, for his people and their ideals. Jackson then, like many a Negro today, cried aloud that America could not be the nation she was supposed to be unless every vestige of slavery, every modification of the hated system, every adaptation of undemocratic rule of the few over the many be wiped out. That cry was not alone for his people, although they deserved then, as they deserve today, special attention to their needs; but it was a cry for the preservation and buttressing of the American ideal.

Today there are those who say that Negroes and whites cannot function together in a democracy on an equality. They say Negroes cannot vote without ruining the state. In Gideon Jackson's own state of South Carolina, Editor W. W. Ball of the *News and Courier,* of Charleston, rants at least thrice weekly on the evils of the participation of Negroes in politics. To the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north of him is North Carolina where Negroes vote and the sun has not dropped from the sky, but he shuts his eyes. Not far away is Kentucky where they vote and no earthquake has come, but again he shuts his eyes and refuses to think. A Rankin arises in Congress. A Bilbo spouts. States talk openly of defiance of the law of the land. Governors write Washington that "southern traditions" must be respected.

These people all want to turn 1944 back to 1877. They tremble with rage and fear because although the Klan wiped out Gideon Jackson and Carwell and choked off, during the Reconstruction, all the Carwells, because, to use Fast's words, historians either "sealed off" this period or rewrote it to miseducate generations of school-children, the yearning and the struggle of mankind to be free cannot be blown away with guns, rooted out with torture and terror, nor blotted out by twisted history, or hysterical speeches and machinations of the Bilbos and Rankins and their kind throughout the world.

Freedom Road is a novel for the bookshelf of every believer in the people of America, for every lover of liberty and justice everywhere.

ROY WILKINS

Sharecropper
(Blues Poem)

Break o' day I got mah plow in de ground.
Break o' day I got mah plow in de ground.
Cain't catch mah breaf till de sun go down.

Years go by; ain't nothin' lef' to show.
Years go by, an' ain't nothin' lef' to show.
Talkin' 'bout d'mocracy; — Lawd, I don't know . . .

All I ask for is jes' a chance to live.
All I ask for is jes' a chance to live.
Guess that's more'n some white folks wants to give.

JOSEPH W. GRAVER

Veterans May Study

Between 800,000 and 1,000,000 veterans of the present war may study eventually at educational institutions of their own choice under the provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill of Rights), the OWI has announced.

Lester Granger Rewarded

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, was presented in September with a certificate for outstanding service to the cause of economic and political democracy in the field of race relations by the National CIO committee to abolish discrimination.

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LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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Which Candidate?

By W. L. Dawson

(*Continued from page* 314)

the millions of southern Negroes. The Court's decision in the Texas white primary makes certain that the beginning of the end of Negro disfranchisement in the South is at hand. Today the South is going through a period of reconstruction which has far-reaching implications beyond anything that could have been imagined a decade ago.

President Roosevelt has done more in three years of war to destroy the vicious discriminatory traditions of the armed forces, which were built up over the last century, than all other presidents of the United States combined. The military establishment which President Roosevelt inherited from his Republican predecessors was dominated by southern customs and southern officers. The President shattered precedent and tradition by opening all branches of the armed forces to Negroes and ordering that segregation be eliminated from officers' training schools.

Today in the heart of Georgia, at Fort Benning, Negro and white officers train and live together on a basis of equality. On submarines, on destroyers, in the infantry and in the air forces, black officers and men are manning posts of the greatest responsibility. There are today 5,957 commissioned officers in the army and Negro officers have been commissioned in the United States Navy. Negro captains are sailing liberty ships with mixed crews under their command. Negro flyers have written heroic pages in our history over the skies of embattled Europe. Our combat troops are bringing the enemy to their knees in both the European and Pacific theaters of war. A few weeks ago segregation was outlawed on all army posts. Meeting each problem as it arises, the President has consistently opposed the anti-Negro practices of the military oligarchy and demanded equality of opportunity for the Negro soldier.

Roosevelt Record Progressive

The Roosevelt record, in peace and war, even in the eyes of the severest critic, is a record of unquestioned progress. It is a liberal record. As victory in this war nears; the shape of the future has become the chief concern of the American people. Millions of Negroes are anxious about their jobs.

Through the creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, President Roosevelt paved the way for the employment of 1,335,682 Negro workers in the nation's war plants. In ninety-six shipyards Negro job holders rose from 10,099 in 1940 to more than 150,000 in 1944. When the Fair Employment Practice Committee was threatened in Congress it was the administration forces that led the fight to extend its life and they won a signal victory. The recent hate-strike among the Philadelphia transit workers was regarded by many as the opening gun of a new campaign to negate the war time gains of our workers. President Roosevelt did not make a promise in that situation; he acted. Backing up the basic rights of the Negro workers he used the armed might of the United States government to protect the democratic principle of economic equality. While the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania and the Republican Mayor of Philadelphia stood on the sidelines, President Roosevelt let all America know that he meant business.

I believe that the best guarantee that Negroes and all other Americans can have for peace and prosperity in the post-war period lies in the re-election of the President. The problems that will come with the victory will be no greater than the problems that have been tackled and solved in the past by the Roosevelt administration. We are on the right road to a better America and a better world and we have a master in the driver's seat; a man who knows the way and who combines speed with courage.

On November 7, the Negro people will cast their votes for President Roosevelt and make sure that the liberal course which has brought to the Negro people the greatest opportunities for advancement in their history will continue. They will be joined by the liberal white majority of Americans who believe in a true democracy.

By C. B. Powell

(*Continued from page* 315)

the hundreds of thousands of Negroes in uniform has been shattered beyond hope.

Under threat of a march on Washington by 100,000 Negroes, the President was forced to issue an executive order against discrimination in war industry, but FEPC, as established by Mr. Roosevelt, has been able only to appeal; it has not had the power to crack down on those plants that refused to obey its edicts. Even now, the President refuses to back a bill in Congress to create a permanent FEPC.

The south is unalterably committeed to a policy of "white supremacy," and under a Democratic administration, regardless of who is president, the Negro-hating south will dominate the party. Under such a rule the Negro can never hope to gain full citizenship status. The fundamental policy of the controlling elements of the Democratic party is opposed to equality for the Negro.

With these things as evident as they are, the only course open to the Negro for his own salvation is to vote for Governor Thomas E. Dewey for president of the United States.

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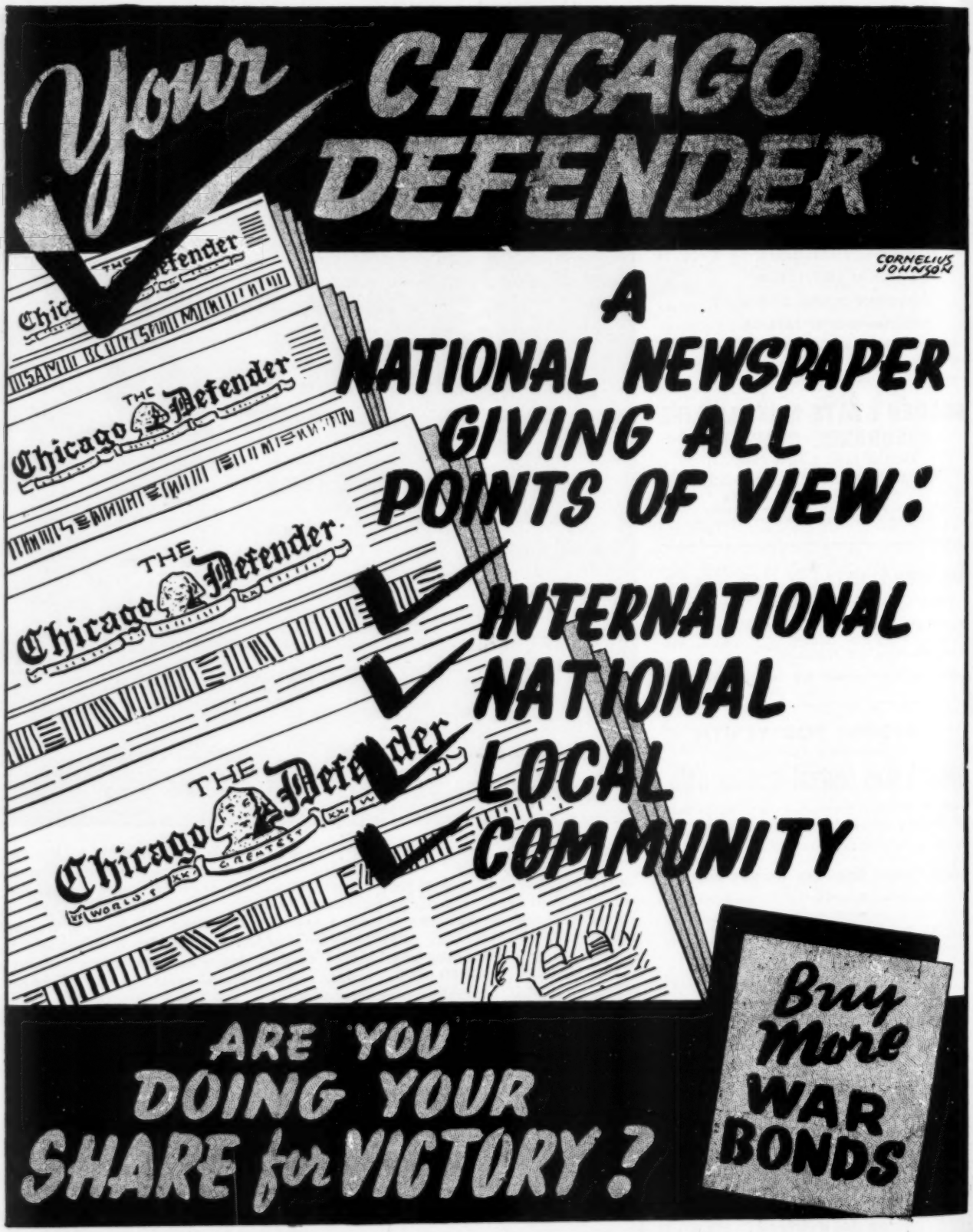
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But back on Lenox Avenue and Beale Street they will know I died so that my father, with his stooping shoulders and gnarled hands, could go to the polls at last in his home; so that my sister would not be turned away from the factory and the office because her face is black.

So that the child I have never seen, and his child, need never fear the lynch rope.

Though my life ebbs out, in the freedom of my people I shall live. Yet you, Nazi, God rest your soul, you and your diseased hordes will be dead forever.

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